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ABSTRACT

This book contains four articles on adult higher education (AHE) in Finland. In the preface, Matti Parjanen outlines the development of AHE in Finland and discusses the rationale for the book. In "Adult Education and Universities in the Era of Economic Depression," Osmo Kivinen and Risto Rinne examine the dilemma between the mission of the university and the ever-expanding higher education (HE) system against the backdrop of the deep economic depression that currently exists in the Nordic countries. Reijo Raivola discusses the following topics in "Adult Education in the New Europe": areas of emphasis of European adult education; the search for a common starting place in educational policy; emphasis on the importance of education in the Maastricht Treaty; points of departure for educational policy, goals, and means of implementation; and adult education in a united Europe. In "Continuing Higher Education in Canada, Finland, and the United Kingdom," Malcolm Tight focuses on the relationship between continuing education and HE, changing HE systems, and alternative forms of continuing HE in each country. Matti Parjanen considers societal factors, values, and national identity in his comparison of AHE in Finland and Ireland titled "Adult Higher Education on the Peripheries of Europe, in Finland and Ireland." (MN)

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Outside the Golden Gate

Prospects and Comparisons in Finnish Adult Higher Education

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PREFACE

Matti Parjanen

In adult education Finland has long traditions commanding international respect. Statistics prove that in our country the prerequisites for adult teaching and learning are particularly favourable. Finland ranks high in the statistics for the use made of libraries, for the reading of newspapers, for going to the theatre and in literacy. A dense network of liberal education institutes covering a large, sparsely populated country (population only 5 million), has earlier shortened the distance to civilization. Today that network lends itself to utilization in applications of modern distance learning, by functioning, for example, as locations for tutors, ADP terminals and audio-visual auditoria. (In the future adult education students will have their own facilities in their own homes.)

By contrast, adult higher education (AHE) on a large scale is still very new in Finland, although the first extension activities were actually arranged at the University of Helsinki as early as in the 1850s. Towards the end of the 1960s the magnitude of the potential demand for higher education and open university instruction became apparent, and it was at this point that the decision was taken to establish the first centre for continuing education at the University of Tampere in 1970. In the course of the 1980s this movement spread throughout all the 20 universities in Finland. Now they all have their own centres for continuing education, including activities at other locations, totalling 40 institutes to cover the whole of Finland. As the articles in this book show, AHE is at present in something of a state of crisis. The last ten years have witnessed a major expansion, and this has been accompanied by certain problems which are just now, in 1994, coming to a head. The economic recession of the 1990s has caused drastic cuts in university finances. Explanations that the same has been the case elsewhere in Europe and in the USA do not appease the university folk. The intensified struggle for dwindling resources has given rise to a bitter

battle for space in which to live: Rivals are percieved lurking behind every corner. This has resulted in populistic haggling as to whether more higher education resources should be allotted to basic university teaching, to scientific postgraduate education and to scientific research, this to the detriment of AHE. During the facile, self-deceptive boom in the 1980s no time was found to contemplate this conflict. Now diminished budgets have actually resulted in a kind of revolutionary movement openly desirous of halting the growth of AHE and of reducing its scope for development as regards both content and administration within the Finnish universities. This rebellion is led by the gatekeepers, those traditionalist professors who detest university extension, and by the student union leaders. The latter have taken upon themselves the role of trade union bosses safeguarding the priviledges of the universities' mainstream students.

The reality, however, is that the Finnish Parliament, the Government and the Ministry of Education have made their position on this issue entirely clear: AHE is a key factor in improving the economic position of Finland. The fight is uneven in that through various sanctions the Ministry is able to impose its own will. In the state budget for 1994 funds have been made available to the AHE centres for purposes of education for unemployed graduates, for entrepreneurs and for the open university - for those who did not gain admission through the Golden Gate. Basic instruction and scientific research do not appear to come in for a great deal of the politicians' attention in these times of economic austerity. The universities would do well to recognize the implications of this harsh reality: The gap between the scientific peak and the man in the street is wider than the inmates of academia think.

The Finnish universities are characterized by a burning desire to be exclusive. At a structural level this means that of those who matriculate from secondary education with good marks only a minority become mainstream students of the university faculties. Thus in front of the glorious Golden Gate, narrow and prestigious as it is, there stand for ever the masses with an interest in education. The universities have little interest in them, but now this time bomb has become too hot for the politicians to handle. On orders from Parliament increased resources have been allocated with a view to appeasing these masses, under the rubric of furthering employment

for the young. This appeasement has been assigned to the centres for continuing education, which has led to a power struggle over money and legitimization between the centres and the university faculties place their faith in traditional modes of activity.

This book has been published firstly because, for reasons of language, Finnish adult education and sociology of education are not well known in the wider world, and secondly because Finland's envisaged membership of the EU makes it essential to compare with the rest of Europe what Finland has achieved over the years in her education system. There has always been a shortage of publications on comparative education! The third reason for this book is that all the writers believe in the importance of AHE as a catalyst in social development and are eager to promote the benefits of this form of education, however critical some approaches may be. And finally, the conflict over legitimization and resources makes it timely to publish this book. The writers (who are all both reseachers and active protagonists in the debate on educational policy) are eager to take the discussion on adult education beyond the bounds of mundane questions of finance to the comparative level.

ADULT EDUCATION AND UNIVERSITIES IN THE ERA OF ECONOMIC DEPRESSION

Osmo Kivinen & Risto Rinne

About ten years ago in the United States, a critical debate was being carried on about market phenomena linked with academic continuing education. The universities were accused of selling out academic standards and even of "peddling academic degrees and credits". (Cross 1981.) Even though adult education in the form of extension studies in higher education is still rather young in Finland, these same themes are now under discussion. Those who defend the traditional tasks of the university talk about lost academic glamour, while those who are in favour of toppling the ivory tower want closer links with the business world. Mutual distrust comes to a head in conditions of economic recession. (cf. Parjanen 1992.)

In this article we are dealing with the dilemma between the mission of the university and the ever growing higher education system. In the Nordic countries, especially in Finland there is at the moment a very deep economic depression which has resulted in an on-going redistribution of welfare as well as of educational capital - processes not so unfamiliar to many other countries, like Great Britain, earlier. We are analyzing the massification processes of adult education in the Finnish universities and the changing role of extension studies which are becoming a vital part of manpower training in the era of academic unemployment and large cuts in public expenditures on education.

1. The missions of university

The missions or roles of the university in society can be classified on a fivefold scale. Firstly, the university can continue to carry out its medieval function, of training public servants and professionals. Secondly, it can provide a repository for the preservation of knowledge (as in ancient Alexandria). Thirdly, it can fulfill Wilhelm von Humboldt's ideals of the research university, as a generator of new information and as a centre of civilization and learning. Fourthly, it may serve as a public utility (as was the case with the land grant colleges set up under the Morrill Act in the USA during the 1860s). The fifth function is to serve as a fortress for the freedom of speech and inquiry, and for the criticism of established truths and government, and in this way to uphold and promote political democracy (see Husen 1993).

As a social system, the university has always been rigid and conservative, argues Husén (1993:14), and historically speaking, it is one of the most durable institutions in society: considerably older, as an institution, than the nationstate (Allardt 1990). The rigidity and conservatism of the university are poorly compatible with radical reform; yet the paradox is that the ethical responsibility of scientists and scholars is the pursuit of truth, a literally 'radical' task: to penetrate below the surface of the question, to reach the roots.

In the decades leading up to the 1990s, Finland was a model example of the social-democratic Scandinavian welfare state. Education was seen as a spearhead in the struggle for societal democracy, and came under the special protection of the State. The educational system was constructed as an open pathway at public expense through publicly owned institutions, from the comprehensive primary and junior secondary school through the senior high school to vocational college or university.

With economic prosperity, the ideology of educational democracy became the cornerstone of Finnish educational policy, and in time led to first the senior high school and then the universities evolving into mass institutions. Under the pressure of a swelling student enrolment and strict State dirigisme, the older German dream of the university as a heaven of culture and scholarship (Bildung)

increasingly gave way to the mass university. The 1970s saw the implementation of reforms both in the administration and curricula of the universities, and the subordination of higher education more and more clearly to manpower and related needs in the economy.

Up to the 1980s, education continued to promote inter-generational social mobility, and university graduates were effectively guaranteed access to higher social status. During that decade, however, the situation began to change, and the career prospects for university graduates became more confused. In the 1990s, the impact of the recession (considerably worse in Finland than in most Western countries) has led to rising graduate unemployment, and a series of significant changes in university frames.

As the traditional elite university has been modified into the mass university (to apply the well-known terms proposed by Martin Trow, 1974), increasing interest in university questions has been shown not only by the State, but also by private enterprise. When the situation today is compared with that of only a few decades ago, the links to the labour market and to national research and development effort, as well as massive scale of training provided for public sector employes, are on a totally different scale. The role of higher education finance and investment in social policy has also changed drastically. To put it vividly, higher education has become the midwife tending the cultural cradle (cf. Kivinen & Rinne 1992).

2. The expansion of university continuing education in the 1970s and 1980s

Compared with most industrialized countries Finnish universities have for a long time been very closed in the sense that, few higher education services have been provided for adults in Finland. There has also implemented the Numerus Clausus - model. Entrance to universities has been closed to the majority of applicants by the Golden Gate. The universities have been seen as a route to be followed by young upper secondary school leavers to a first university degree. The degree reform implemented in the late 1970s made the degree structure even more of a one-way street than

before, with all students in practice being channelled into MA-level degree programmes, and lower-level BA degrees and continuing education being excluded from higher education proper. It was not until the late 1980s that the adultification of higher education had reached the point where more than half of the country's hundred thousand students in higher education had passed their 25th birthday, and a fifth were over thirty years old. (Kivinen & Rinne 1991; 1992a; 1992b.)

It is a known fact that in Finland vocational education is founded exceptionally firmly on an educational system that covers the whole of childhood and youth as continuing line without interruption. Only in recent years has there been a more serious trend towards recurrent vocational adult education, in which studies and work take their turns. The pressures for this trend have been brought about by the structural changes in society, which have meant that labour force, increasingly often with a long and "wrong" type of education behind it, has been unable to find suitable work, even when there are jobs available. A rigid labour market has been generated with a persistent mismatch of supply and demand as regards to educated labour. A new type of education is required that would be able rapidly and flexibly to transfer the right kind of labour with the right skills to the jobs where they are needed. (Kivinen & Rinne 1992b.)

In 1970s, there were only six small, separate organizations for continuing education operating in conjunction with universities. These open university experiments, which mainly followed British models, were carried out in collaboration with what is known in Finland as "liberal education". Alongside the open university, various retraining schemes sprang up during the 1970s, but the growth of continuing education was all in all rather slow and painful throughout the whole decade.

In the 1980s, continuing education centres were rapidly set up in conjunction with all the Finnish universities, with the blessing of government committees. Today there are already 40 university centres for continuing education and branches of these (forming a network that covered the whole country) in a country with 21 higher education institutes and a population of only 5 million. All of them

provided university-level teaching, retraining and further education. (Rinne, Kivinen & Hyppönen 1992.)

The university centres for continuing education have begun to operate more and more on the principle of providing services against payment, selling their services to different client and financing groups on the market. The names have even been changed to "centre for education and development", as they have begun to compete more and more strongly with all the other business enterprises selling their services in the field of adult education. In 1993 move students were being taught in the university centres for continuing education than in traditional higher education. The difference was in the short duration of the courses and the mature age of the students. More than half of the teaching was connected with continuing professional training, a third with retraining and a tenth with open university study for a degree. Over 90 % of the teaching was direct-contact teaching.

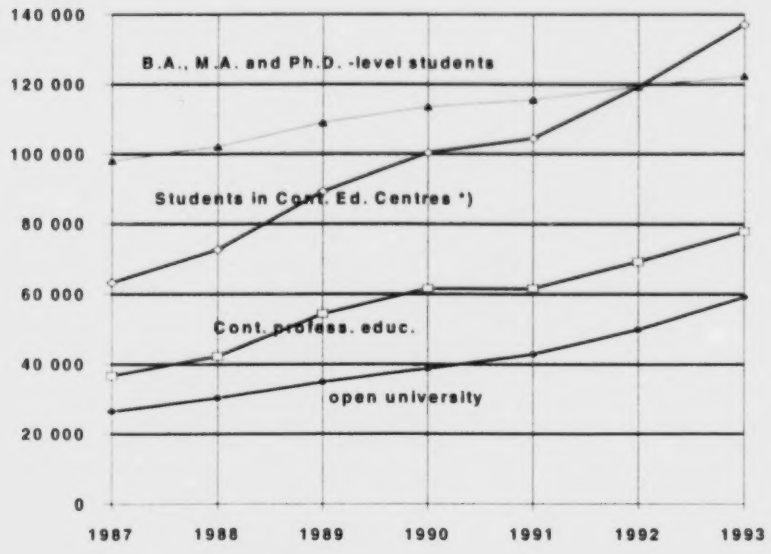

Figure 1. University students in Finland 1987-93

*) The sum of continuing professional education and open university (the two lower curves).

Source: Taskinen 1994

At the beginning of the 1990s, in line with the officially adopted educational policy aiming at "control of structural change", the government made a conscious effort to promote competition between all the institutions of adult education. (cf. Kivinen & Rinne 1992c). This meant that the previous, to some extent forced, division of labour began to break down. The continuing education centres of the universities could still use the backing of scientific research as sales arguments for their products, but now the market areas and potential clientele were no longer restricted to a narrow academic élite or those striving to gain access to it through the open university. (Kivinen, Rinne & Hyppönen 1992.) Educational services might also be sold in the form of further education or in-house training for company personnel. Nevertheless, the public sector still accounted for a large percentage of the buyers.

3. Tightening the belt

When American college presidents were asked in the 1960s to state the greatest problems confronting their institutions, the list was headed by money. Clark Kerr (1991) is perhaps right, however, in suggesting that university funding is a perennial problem, possibly even an escalating one, but that the emphasis on finance may also be based on the illusion that money can heal all sicknesses and guarantee the universities unending growth and success.

The Nordic countries, including Finland, have looked upon themselves as prosperous welfare states, and seen one of the foundation stones of this welfare in education, investment in human capital. Scientific research and higher education have been seen as generating the value-added necessary to enable us to survive and prosper, here on the European Arctic periphery, and compete with the rest of the world.

In Finland, as in many other countries, the history of higher education since the Second World War has been a success story. Expansion in higher education followed an overall increase in public welfare. The Finnish State was still convinced in late 1980's that higher education was a worthwhile investment, and was prepared

(despite the economic clouds which were already louring) to offer continued guarantees for growth. Important Committee Reports continued to argue that significant further improvements in the level of education were essential for the nation's survival. In a rhetorical appeal to nationalism, the quest for success in research, education and skills was even described as a third phase in Finland's struggle for independence. There was widespread support for the view that the necessary condition for economic survival was that "the Finnish nation should be the best educated nation in Europe."

In 1991, however, Finland began to go into serious economic decline. In 1994, this has deepened into depression, and there is as yet little sign of recovery. The unemployment rate, which was only some percents during the era of prosperity, has climbed up to 22 %, and Finland is competing with Spain for the highest rate in the OECD. The rate of unemployement among young people may be close to 40 %. In a nation of five million inhabitans, more than half a million are on the dole and in addition 100 000 is expected to get there. By 1990, Finland's ambitions to become the Japan of Europe had given way to comparisons with Ireland.

Neither for Finland, however, nor for her Nordic neighbours, is the present crisis merely an adjustment of course in response to economic recession. More and more criticism has been addressed to the entire concept of Nordic welfare social democracy. The public sector has been attacked as overgrown and inefficient, full employment is seen as utopian and intolerably expensive, and demands are made to abandon Keynesian policies of economic regulation and allow free competition full play.

It is of course no coincidence that both Finland and Sweden have for the past few years been in the hands of governments of the Right. The currently prevailing attitudes towards educational egalitarianism are a rejection of the Social Democratic ideology dominant for so long in the Nordic countries. In Finland, the Government believes that a significant proportion of the financial cuts needed must be made also through rationalization of the educational system. The network of institutions must be pruned, duplication must be eliminated, unnecessary bureaucracy reduced. In higher education policy, at least, Finland is thus now on a

strikingly different course from Sweden. Whereas Finland is planning to cut annual higher education expenditure during 1993-95 by at least 100 million dollars (to well below one billion), Sweden is expanding her own higher education spending by about 300 million dollars. In the Finnish network of 21 university-level institutions, the scale of the cuts proposed is equivalent to closing down at least three of our medium-sized universities or all of the eleven smallest institutions. Alternatively, one could close down 150 departments, or sack all of the 1900 full and associate professors. During 1993, all university staff are enjoying the hors d'oeuvre for this feast of penury by being laid off for two weeks, and the more draconian measures planned for 1994 will inevitably involve drastic structural surgery.

4. Polarization of resources in higher education

The education system, formerly almost completely owned and regulated by the public sector, is being made to take more responsibility for its results, through stiffer competition and rationalization. Another possibility at present under discussion is that of expanding the scope of private education.

At the same time as the universities are being given increasing power and responsibility in decisions concerning their own affairs, resources are being cut. In these hard times, particularly high value is attached to those parts of the higher education system which are self-sufficient, or even able to make a profit. The continuing education centres of the universities are examples of these. Only some of their costs come from the government's higher education budget, and in addition, they act as a bridge between the universities and the business world.

The explosive growth of university continuing education in Finland is a relatively new phenomenon, and it has given rise to discussion of the threat posed by this expansion to the traditional functions of the universities. "Traditionalists" would like to uphold scientific standards and protect Academia against dangerous "contagions". The "utilitarians", on the other hand, do not see it as a matter for

concern that university-level continuing education has begun to sell in Finland, even to make a profit. (cf. Panhelainen 1992).

University staff who make their living in the traditional sphere of higher education and research, have had reservations about the continuing education centres ever since they were founded. Especially in the period of rapid expansion of continuing education, in the 1980s, the other university staff envied the centres their swelling budgets, growing resources, well-equipped premises, modern working methods and no doubt also their influential social contacts in the business world. In the 1990s, in a situation where cutbacks are the rule, envy threatens to turn into bitterness, especially as the state has harnessed the continuing education centres as the workhorse for its expanding retraining schemes. The government is now pouring hundreds of millions of Finnish Marks in "unemployment money" into the continuing education centres' budgets, while at the same time the universities are struggling with financial difficulties.

Table 1. Funding of Centres for Continuing Education in Finland 1992

Funding Source	USD
Municipal funding	5 221 000 8 %
Funding of Ministry of Education	11 358 000 18 %
Payments from clients	35 539 000 57 %
University funding	10 580 000 17 %
Total (20 centres)	62 698 000 100 %

1 USD = 5.5 FIM

Source: Taskinen 1994

In conditions of recession, the many forms of retraining and training for business have become an important field of continuing education. Especially in small and medium-sized industry, the aim is to produce professionals with a strong entrepreneurial bias. Unfortunately, the creation of new jobs does not seem to be so successful.

Large industrial concerns are doing so badly in Finland that many of them are closing down their own training facilities and dismissing their training managers. The belief in personnel training as a factor contributing to human capital and sharpening the competitive edge seems to be fading in a situation of deep recession. It is true that key personnel crucial to an enterprise are still being given further training, but often top-ranking consultants from the private education sector are used, as they are considered better able than the university centres for continuing education to tailor their products to their clients' needs. In this respect, only those university continuing education centres are competitive that operate in conjunction with universities which have established research centres (science parks and the like) in close collaboration with trade and industry.

In the new situation, continuing education provided by the Finnish universities is doing well financially, because the government is giving solid support to retraining schemes, and also because the unemployed have plenty of time to study. In further professional training on the other hand, the situation looks less bright. In addition, it seems that the continuing education centres of the universities have expanded at such a rate that they are no longer completely in control of the content of the education they are churning out, and they run the risk of becoming completely alienated from academic research. Fewer and fewer professors and researchers conducting serious basic research have the time and energy to expend on bringing new ideas to the continuing education centres. These teaching tasks are of necessity handed over to the staff with fewer scientific merits. There is the danger that the role left to the scientific work automatically connected with universities will be that of legitimating continuing education activities and being used as a kind of competitive asset in the field of educational services. Furthermore, the strong emphasis on results dictated by business principles requires increasingly convincing demonstrations

of the profitability of investments in education and the efficiency of training, and this may lead to the academic facade losing its credibility.

Retraining schemes funded by the government are in actual fact designed to make the unemployment figures look better, to break up a long period of uninterrupted unemployment and to create a storehouse of educated labour. For those taking a degree in the open university system, study seems to be an end in itself, an alternative to unemployement, without much regard for the content. In a work-oriented society, study and "self-improvement" are, after all, always seen as valuable, compared with idleness resulting from failure in job hunting, and this is nowadays the reality for more and more people in Finland.

5. University adult education and production of professional skills

People see the universities as being at the top of the educational hierarchy. University degrees are often believed to produce the best possible (that is, scientific) knowledge and skills for working life. The myth that there is a direct correlation between the level of the academic degree and the level of the person's professional skill is surprisingly persistent in all education-oriented societies. The idea that a high-level formal degree does not automatically guarantee real professional skill is alien to many people. That is even though educational sociologists have questioned the myths associated with the belief in education through their research, and shown that all education, including the basic and continuing education given by universities, has of necessity other social functions than those of providing professional qualifications. Educational degrees are simply a way of selecting people for the hierarchies of working life, motivating them to work and committing them to their professions. Education is also a way of keeping the redundant workforce motivated as they are waiting their turn to enter working life. (Kivinen & Rinne 1992a.)

It has always been known in working life and in business that a good degree is not necessarily a guarantee of excellent professional skills. Although degrees and certificates are a handy way of placing candidates in order, considerably more can be found out about the person's real work skills from testimonials and references based on work experience. Especially in hard times such as these, when enterprises can't afford to make wasted investments, attitudes to the significance of qualifications even those produced by university-level continuing education, tend to be reserved and cautious.

As academic unemployment has increased, the continuing education centres of the Finnish universities have been presented with the challenge of doing something about it. Not even the large sums of money invested in the training of entrepreneurs, nor the thousands of study places thus created, can eliminate the lack of jobs on the labour market. At the moment Finland is still living a political illusion that academics can, through continuing education, be turned into small entrepreneurs, pumped full of ideas, self-confidence and the quality the Finns describe as "sisu" - guts, perseverance, obstinacy or whatever it is. The fact is, however, that a course of a few months can do very little about it and the possibilities of education as a whole are very limited when discussing questions of unemployment and shortage of jobs. All that "employment training" can really do is break up a long period of unemployment; however, even this is better than the alternative of falling into complete apathy.

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ADULT EDUCATION IN THE NEW EUROPE

Reijo Raivola

1. Areas of emphasis in European adult education

For the OECD and EU reports on education and from various country reports it might be concluded that the specific need in adult education in the most highly industrialized countries is two-pronged. In a situation of increased complexity in all societal activity and of the liberalistic concept of the individual forging his/her own destiny, citizens must be equipped with the means of controlling their own lives. Moreover, the view which has gained in strength since the 1960s that education is an investment factor and a means to a national competitive edge has served to emphasized the importance of education. The basic education of children and young people has indeed been increased radically in respect of both breadth and length, and the content and organization of teaching lives more or less in real time, providing the necessary skills for learning, living, and working. An education gap has opened up between the generations. In order that this gap might be closed, those who have dropped out of education, who have become marginalized by reason of region or gender, through belonging to a racial or religious minority, through being immigrants, those groups now need liberal and vocational education which is actively taken to all, and which will help them catch up with the younger age cohorts who are currently out in front. The system of adult education must create a network with meshes of different sizes, taking advantage of highly developed information technology so that not one potential learner of the modern or postmodern society can slip through.

The other prong is the need which could be called **post tertiary education** (Azaretto 1992). This means the need born of a developing economic life for further professional education for those with an academic education already behind them. Most significantly

in the natural sciences, in medicine and in technology research is producing with increasing speed new knowledge with an immediate effect on professional competence. It is inherent in the ideology of professionalism that there be a knowledge gap between customer and expert. In order to ensure that this gap continues to exist, the professional must move more quickly than the customer in the acquisition of knowledge. Further academic professional education which brings the learner up-to-date is beneficial to his career and opens up the possibility of a wider choice of occupation. Interdisciplinary education notably avoids the risk of overspecialization and losing touch with social reality. It promotes the integration of different disciplines and removes artificial boundaries. There is no place in today's world for the image of the professional working away on his own seeking at most only consultant's help from his colleague. Work is approached as a project and problems are solved in teams. In such a situation it is necessary to know at least sufficient about the functions of members and the tools with which they work (their system of concepts) for there to be communication resulting in synergy.

Both key areas share a requirement for effectiveness of operations. For those starting from scratch there is a desire to build up an education career marked by formal qualifications and cumulative indicators of achievement. The expert population is required to prove to those availing themselves of their services how much they know and to assure their clients that steps have been taken to bridge the gap between formal qualifications and practical professional capability. Such attempts have included 1) acknowledging the profession and keeping control over the right to practise it (certification), 2) governmental permission to exercise the profession (licencing, registering) or 3) accreditation sought voluntarily through guarantees for the education programme by external experts (accreditation). The bureaucratic solution is seen in 4) the requirement for obligatory further education repeated at intervals or tests or other means of assessment proving that the professional skill has been retained, one of which may be made a prerequisite for 5) renewal of permission to practice.

In the territory between these two principle priorities lies liberal education with the emphasis on culture and hobbies and continuing

technical and vocational education for those who have become unemployed.

Azaretto (ibid.) divides the approaches to professional further education into the strategic and the tactical. The former is an attempt at systematic, all-inclusive cumulative lifelong learning and development. Strategic education prepares for future contingencies, including those which are not at the time foreseen. The new doctrine builds on already acquired learning and enhances systematically the learner's understanding of his own functions and of those of the organization, be this the workplace, the company or community. The structural prerequisite presented for the strategy is an open learning environment, and education pass on which module measurement and achievement are collected.

The tactical orientation, on the other hand, concentrates on satisfying clearly defined educational needs. The periods of education are independent, totally unintegrated, of short duration and of direct use. Education is used to solve operative problems. Taking the constructivist point of view it may be seen that reflection occurs in real time with less thought for the future. Precisely profiled courses are tailored to companies' needs on the principle of "those who work together shall also learn together".

Professional (further) education may moreover be organized and geared towards knowledge or skill. It may seek to solve production problems theoretically, analytic-deductively, with extensive control over work and working environment, or then situation bound, inductively and operatively. In Finland the trend would appear to be towards the latter (polytechnic, labour force-oriented adult education, vocationalization of secondary education, practicalization of higher education and storing training for unemployed labour).

The two basic dimensions of adult education mentioned here make it possible to form an analytic typology of further education. Obviously, the division cannot be absolute, for further education is a response to many different needs at one time. The two classes are of service in comparing different systems, documents of orientation among educators in professional further education. The terms in brackets indicate the concepts emanating from the point of view of the learners, and can be combined into different conceptions of learning.

Figure 1. Approaches to further professional education

2. The search for a common starting place in education policy - nothing new

European culture shares the Greco-Roman-Jewish-Christian tradition which has formed the underlying beliefs of the politically differentiated continent to a degree of uniformity which makes it permissible to speak of the condition of being "European" as something more than mere geography. (There exists the view that in the east of Europe there persists the old division beween Roman and Byzantine cultures.) Shin'ichi Suzuki (1992) has it that the system of beliefs of a cultural area is composed of the following:

- conception of microcosmos and macrocosmos
- conception of the whole formed by the sum of the members (e.g. a state)
- conception of relationships between individuals (e.g. extended family, tribe, ethnicity)
- conception of the individual (e.g. social gender)
- conception of the supernatural

- ontological and epistemological basis (time, space, reality, knowledge internal or external)
- moral basis (conception of good and evil)
- conception of justice
- conception of life and death

It is from this system of beliefs that the models for action and problem solving, i.e. social institutions, and indeed education are derived. School is recognized as such throughout, irrespective of variations in organization and content. Each system has differentiated education horizontally and vertically. Each one is compelled to contemplate content from the point of view of the needs of the individual and society. In every system accelerated social change puts pressure on the education system to bring itself up to date (or then to remain so). Each system operates functionally and with goal orientation. Each system must resolve the relation between formal, informal and non-formal education. Each system has some kind of legitimization for formal learning. The function logic of education systems and the structural and functional solutions must not differ radically from one another because the education systems have been set up in order to solve common problems. (Raivola 1982.)

Before the European Community, the Council of Europe and the OECD were active codifiers and builders of a common education policy. The Council of Europe (founded 1949, with Finland as a full member only since 1989) has been remarkably individual-centred in its adult education policy. Its aims have been the promotion of participation, the unification of learning and the realization of equality of opportunity. The introduction by the Council of Europe of the term 'permanent education' met with some resistance at the time. The Council felt that the adult himself should take the decisions about his education, monitor its quality and implementation. The problem of subsistence and finding jobs is only one part of the field of operation in adult education. Another equally important function is educating the citizen for his role and his leisure. Education is also a value in itself: It may be a hobby without any ulterior motive. Education must not be a forced march the pace of which is determined in advance through rigid syllabi, the

implementation of orders from above. If the aim is an individual who acts autonomously and makes his actions felt the structures of education must not go against this aim. Many education systems seek to increase the amount of education available right up to higher education with the aim of using education to promote social equality and democratize the culture. The objective is to ensure the acculturation process of each and every citizen, that is, the dominant culture. This the Council of Europe has criticized, arguing that despite its common basic tone Europe is a multi-cultural and multi-value community where each individual should retain the right to strengthen his own culture. This means that the transition must be made from democratization to **cultural democracy** (Council of Europe 1982). Every minority must be guaranteed the opportunity to build up its identity on the foundation of its own culture on equal footing with the dominant culture (empowerment), and also the opportunity to have its voice heard. In many countries there are numerous ethnic minorities, and especially in France and Germany a large number of immigrants from strange cultures. They, too, are entitled to being European, but on their own terms. In such a case education also has many values, many aims, and many organizational forms, but is at the same time integrative and comprehensive. It is "global" in the sense that it caters for people's overall needs by utilizing the network of the learning environment (family, living environment, workplace, school, citizens' organizations, mass communications, cultural institutions etc.) Attitudes to formal examinations and grades are somewhat guarded because they may have the effect of narrowing the learning process. Instead of focussing on the processes of learning and developing attention is directed towards measurable and secondary products.

True to its name, the OECD is primarily an organization for economic cooperation. Its country reports and its development proposals are focussed more clearly than those of the Council of Europe on strengthening the economic function of education. The organization has emphasized in particular the significance of academic education and professional further education in the cost efficiency of education. Education may be used as a buffer with working life by alternating periods of work and education, and by offering education as an alternative to unemployment (recurrent education). Open, distance and multi media learning serve to cut the labour costs of education. Terminologically the organization has

taken to speaking of flexible learning or **adaptive capacity** (Schwanse 1993). In adult education the focus is to shift onto the customer, which entails profound changes in paedagogics. Learning is defined in clear results of learning. Small companies are to integrate into the distance learning networks of public companies and industries. The level of the institutions providing education and through this the level of their examinations is to be standardized to the extent that employers can rely on the certificates of mobile labour to prove formal competence corresponding to the qualifications demanded by the companies. Learning which has taken place and expertise which has increased must be recognized regardless of where and how this occurred. The focus in the development of professional education is to veer towards those on the labour markets and those whom the education system has not reached. Education is to respond promptly to economic, social, political, technological and production process changes. A special effort is to be made to combat technophobia which is rampant among many teachers. Consumers and markets are to play a more prominent role in the supply and allocation of resources.

3. Emphasis in the Maastricht Treaty on the importance of education

It would appear that the EU has to thank the Council of Europe for its spiritual legacy and the OECD for the applications. The community has so far attempted only cautious steps in the matter of **policy formation** rather than engaging in any **policy-making** of its own. The difference with the latter concept is that in policy-forming an attempt is made to to avoid over rational planning. That is, goals are not preset, extremely tight or irrevocable. It is conceded that action policy formation is a process of power and prestige with the purpose of furthering the cause of interest groups. It is most likely to succeed if it can monitor the activities of those organizations and their results with major significance for the special conditions of the activity system. Policy making is a process of assembling in which possible opponents and supporters are identified and the necessary support for formal decision-making is canvassed in deals. This requires precise knowledge of the political

lie of the land and the cultural ties of the institution to be the subject of the decision-making and the feasibility of applying both positive and negative sanctions in order to bring about the desired decision. In decision-making in educational policy this is extremely difficult because the educational institution is tightly bound by its history and cultural context, because the same institution must cater for the functions both of bringing up and educating, and because there are more people within its confines to guard the interests than there are in many other societal institutions. Traditionally citizens have had a much greater say in education than in economic or social policy. The ultimate obstacle to the will realize the unification of educational policy may be the teachers by reason of the internal function logic of the education system. In their independent work teachers may calmly disregard or tone down decisions which they do not like.

Another reason for the respect for the educational subsidiary principle has been the social philosophical attitude in the powerful countries of the community to the role of the state in relation to its citizens. The **social-liberal or libertarian** attitude inherited from the ideal of enlightenment and the political liberalism of the nineteenth century has been the dominant doctrine which has encouraged the co-existence of the private and public sectors.

The service tasks in society have fallen to the lot of those best equipped to accomplish them. The relationship between the provider of services and the state has rested largely on finance. It has not been for the state to intervene in the freedom of the individual and of enterprise. Liberalism endeavours to dismantle state centredness and to encourage regionalism. For this reason the spirit in Europe has been favourable towards support for individuals and groups of citizens, but not towards official organizations, support for which could conceivably be interpreted as latent subvention. This attitude is clearly discernible in the aim to make out of the community a **People's Europe.** The same conflict dominates between those thoughts which on the one hand emphasized education as a tool of economic policy and on the other as a tool of employment policy. The dilemma is whether to educate specialists or all-rounders, respond to the frequently narrowly specialized demands of employers or ensure that a broad education equips the learner with a wide range of job options.

The libertarian attitude has permitted the failure and even the marginalization of the individual. At all events it has been in stark contrast to the "Social Democratic concensus" (Dahrendorf 1979) of the Nordic countries presently seeking membership of the community, where economic, social, employment, health and education policies have been filtered through the state ideology. It has been so to such an extent that according to Ivan Illich (1970) the consequence has been a passive, psychically incapacitated consumer of services desirous of being served that he is no longer fit to become a member of the society of citizens. It is difficult to say to what extent the running down of the concept of the welfare state, most notably in Finland, is a sign of ideological change and to what extent this is born of economic necessity. However, it would appear that joining the Community would at least not cause any tightening of norms in comparison to what we are used to in the Nordic countries. In comparison with Finland the legislation of the EU countries has relatively few norms relating to education. Since directives are to be shifted to national legislation it is understandable that there is no desire to increase legislation in an area where it has not habitually been applied. The 282 directives necessary for the achieving of a common market are terrifying.

Since the late 1980s the activity of the education policy bodies making preparations and decisions has become more marked and more weighty. The eighth title of the Maastricht treaty includes two separate articles on education, professional education and youth. Article 126 defines as a goal the raising of educational standards through support and supplementation of national education and through cooperation between member countries. The national right to decide on matters of organization and content of education, however, is to remain inviolate. Cooperation (also with non-member countries and with international culture and education organizations, most notably with the Council of Europe) and the harmonization of education is to be accomplished through incentives. In matters decided together there is to be unanimity in principle **(the co-decision principle).** Harmonizing of the legislation on education is explicitly excluded from the measures. The organizational goal is especially that of promoting exchanges of students, teachers and young people, improved efficiency in the exchange of information and the development of distance learning.

As regards content the goal is the Europe dimension, including the language study of the member countries in teaching.

The Europe dimension is one of the most prominent terms in the documents on educational policy. In view of this it is scantily defined. It refers in addition to knowledge of member countries' languages and cultures also close cooperation between teaching institutions, teacher training and exchanges, mobility of students between member countries, the "Europeanization" of syllabi, recognition of qualifications and study abroad, a common information network and reconnaissance of the cultural situation. Thus alongside ethnic and national solidarity a European identity is to be awakened.

The basic message of Article 127 on professional education is adaptation to changes in economic life through education, ensuring of a supply of capable labour and ensuring through further education that qualifications are maintained and improved. Particular emphasis is laid on cooperation between companies and educational institutions. The norms given by the community adher to the the legality principle. i.e. decisions are taken only on those matters which have been declared to be within the power of the union to decide. The most interesting and the passage increasing the powers may, however, be the changed wording after the Treaty of Rome: "The Community shall **implement** a vocational training policy which shall support and supplement the action of the Member States..." The Community therefore no longer needs to confine itself to pronouncing generalizations, but can, if it so chooses, apply both the stick and the carrot in order to carry out its education policy will in professional education (Jüttner 1993). Decisions on education in the Council and in Parliament must be taken on a majority vote and their implementation be ensured through cooperation (**the cooperation principle).**

4. Points of departure for educational policy, goals and means of implementation

Apart from the Maastricht treaty text the latest and most sigificant opinions are most likely those to be found in the educational policy overview of the European Parliament for 1993, the commission document Guidelines for Community Action in the Field of Education and Training, which was confirmed early in the summer of 1993, and the justifications for the programmes (Socrates and Leonardo) due to come into force in 1995. The attitude to education is markedly instrumental. It is the principle instrument through which to control the unprecedented economic, political and social changes. Technological change is seen above all as the triumphal march of information, materials and biotechnology, and causes for its part social changes. The economic and occupational structures will change, likewise division of labour and the social relations at work. However, it is not the change in the structure of working life and the production process which will make the future unpredictable. The awareness of various ethnic and marginal groups of their own rights is on the increase. Women are entering working life alongside men. The end of the Cold War is causing new political tensions. The collapse of the socialist camp demands great efforts to integrate central Europe and Russia into Europe. Expansive economic policy and the uncontrolled use of energy and other natural resources constitute a threat to the living environment. Faith in the power of market forces to control the distribution of resources is also causing problems. Conceivably from the point of view of education the most immediate pressure is caused by the shrinking of the world as a result of expanding internationalization, which is seen in the rapid breakthrough of technological innovations, the formation of global commodities, money and culture markets, intensifying international competition and hence the birth of political and economic alliances.

Education and upbringing must be seen as key factors in the increase of the community's competitivenss, in the building up of mutual confidence and cohesion, and in the strengthening of solidarity. Thus care must be taken of the level of the education systems of member states and of their comparability. For example, when national educational reforms are planned, the aims of the

Community should be taken into consideration, and the most important of these is the strengthening of the European dimension in citizens' consciousness. The ultimate goal is to cultivate a union member, **the Eurocitizen.**

In internal goal of the education systems is to increase their openness and flexibility. Citizens must be guaranteed the opportunity to progress from vocational education to university education. Academic and vocational education are to draw closer together and guarantee inviting career prospects for those who in their youth opted for vocational education. Care must be taken of the efficient vertical and horizontal integration of basic education received in youth and further and other adult education. Administrative legitimation must ensure the recognition of studies taken and their cumulation regardless of where and when these qualifications were obtained. (Social legitimation for achievements outside the official school system may take time.) Cooperation between the various organizations must be stepped up to lead to the formation of **European qualification and education markets** which reach every citizen. Special emphasis must be placed on the realization of equality in education, which means accessibility of education or equality of opportunity. Peripheral regions and deprived individuals must be drawn into the range of efficient education. For this purpose the distribution system must be improved. Efficient use must be made of the new information technology and distance learning, not only as one way of providing adult education but as an organic part of the work of the traditional institution.

However, education should not become divorced from other societal activity. Goals must be pursued alongside **social partners**. The most important of these are the local and regional sector officials and companies. At Community level European employers, employees and employers' and employees' associations channel the needs of economic life to the cognisance of those planning education (**social dialogue**). Particular mention should be made of the ETUC (European Trade Union Confederation), CEEP (European Centre of Public Enterprises) and UNICE (Union of Industries of the EC)

To sum up, the education policy of the Community may be seen to bear the following characteristics.

1. Principles of subsidiarity are to be respected.
2. Well-organized cooperation is emphasized both between systems and institutions of education and other facets of society. This entails in particular the promotion of innovations and new knowledge and experience (contact with research programmes) by setting up efficient information networks. Intervention by the Community in the activities of education systems must bring indisputable added value to activities.
3. Where necessary the immediate and direct activities of the Community are to be trimmed. This is justified by the achievement of added value, the exploitation of economies of scale and providing national systems with stimuli. The Community is to function as a catalyst for national education policy.
4. In times of economic austerity the synergy factor of different sources of finance is to be exploited. There is to be coordination of the research finance of the structural funds (social funds) and the resources of action programmes of education.
5. The participation of interest groups of education in preparatory and planning work is to be ensured.

Once the use of directives has been excluded from the management of education the means of action remaining are the building up and maintaining of activity and information networks. The most important of these are Eurostat and the compiler of education information Eurydice. In distance learning in particular several points of contact have been created in order to make activities more efficient (EADTU, Eurospace, Eurostep, Saturn). It easily happens that the advantages of direct exchange centre on only the institutions involved in organization and the personnel taking part. Networking of institutions opens up the opportunity for more to benefit.

The other possibility is to support mobility and personnel exchange. In exchange programmes recognition of studies which are equivalent or compensatory is especially important. For this purpose there is ECTS (EC Course Credit Transfer System) and also NARIC (National Academic Recognition Information Centre). Since its founding in 1987 Erasmus has offered the opportunity for

cooperation to 2,200 universities through which 200,000 students and 15,000 teachers have participated in personnel exchange. Lingua has offered courses to 20,000 language teachers abroad and provided 80,000 students with intensified language learning. In the Arion programme for expert exchange 6,000 specialists have taken part. The Petra programme for vocational educational exchange has formed the basis for 700 projects through which 14,000 teachers and 85,000 young people have been able to experience the education of another member country. Force, the cooperation programme in adult vocational education, has set up 430 cooperation projects through 3,500 companies. Over 1,800 million ecus have been allocated for the next five-year period (1995-99) on the Socrates and Leonardo programmes which integrate all previous activity programmes.

The third means is the organization of joint programmes between different parties over national boundaries. The most typical of these are research projects within work research programmes (the fourth agreed in principle) in the framework programme of which the Delta programme for the application of technology to teaching has served education directly. Comett may also be said to belong to this category. Education is to shorten the time between basic research and productive application.

5. Adult education in the EU

In the Community documents on education policy adult education is equated with professional further education and continuing education or the forms in which it is offered, open and distance learning. There is no room in this framework for the traditional liberal education for the population. There are numerous reasons for this. First, liberal education for the population has so many forms and is organized on the responsibility of so many different officials and organizations that, lying closer to cultural work and standing for national values and traditions, it would present an effective resistance to attempts at harmonization.

Second, the burning issue is one of expertise becoming rapidly obsolete owing to the speed of technological development and the

ensuing need for able and up-to-date further education and also the basic education of the unkilled population. Functional common markets presuppose the existence of a regionally homogenous labour force. Their special need is for mastery of the natural sciences, business economics, the technical disciplines and languages.

The uppermost cause for concern in the Community has been the dominant demographic trend. With a cautious estimate that it takes 10 years for knowledge to become obsolete, human capital depreciates 7% per annum, which is greater than the the recruitment of trained personnel to working life. In the year 2000 the number of workers leaving working life will be greater than the number entering working life to replace them. The number of the workforce will decrease by 15 million workers (1995-2025). In 2002 in the industrialized countries (OECD countries) the number of the 16 year-old age cohort will be 20% smaller than in 1982, but the number of those over 60 years old will have doubled by 2025. The mean age of the population and the labour force will rise steeply. In Germany, for example, the mean age will rise in 20 years by 6.3 years. The ratio between the proportion outside the population of working age and the active population will rise from 49% to 57%. Of those who will still be on the labour markets in ten years' time, 80% are already there. Many of them received their education in the 1950s, a time when the parallel education system selected only the elite for higher education. Clearly there is a great discrepancy between the qualification demands caused by the rapid economic, technical and social changes and the static level of qualification of the labour force (at present only 2 - 3% of the labour force are mobile), which is apparent from the fact that there prevails simultaneously serious unemployment and a situation of underemployment in key fields. (IRDAC 1991.)

To some extent the threat of lack of labour can be warded off by drawing into education groups which were hitherto marginalized, women and others lacking basic education. In the countris of the Community the degree of participation in working life of women between the ages of 15 and 63 is only 53% (for men it is 81%), whereas in USA, for example, it is 67% and in Finland 72%. The need to increase the labour force may also be simultaneously disguised as the democratic promotion of equality of opportunity in education.

The education problems of small companies constitute their very own bottleneck in the functioning of economic life (in the EU a company of fewer than 100 employees is counted as small, 100 - 499 employees counts as middle-sized, while companies of 10 emplyees or less are micro-sized.) The small company sector is responsible for 65% of GNP and for 75% of employment, and is yet incapable of taking care of the further education of its workers. There are many reasons for this. Lack of time, which manifests itself in the impossibility of releasing workers for purposes of education without a fall in overall production, and lack of internal specialization (no expert on education) make it more difficult to send personnel for education. Many companies lack strategic planning aware of the importance of education and are ignorant of the personnel's need for education. The energy of company management is consumed by the solving of immediate problems. Frequently the reason also lies in conservative attitudes. The entrepreneur is frequently himself uneducated and considers himself living proof that success is not dependent on formal education.

These problems cannot be over by merely increasing the present supply, by providing more of the same as before. There is a need for education which

- targets those already on the labour markets
- reacts fast to changing needs
- maintains and develops skills acquired in basic education
- reaches those who so far have remained outside education
- is structurally open and flexible and versatile in what it offers
- takes full advantage of scope afforded by information technology and mass communications
- recognizes and documents the learning which has taken place irrespective of how that learning has taken place
- integrates and utilizes efficiently what is offered by formal, nonformal and commercial education.

From the standpoint of economic life education is not a value in itself, but solely a use value (and from the point of view of placement on the labour markets an exchange value). Thus education must be balanced, relevant and applicable. The worker must be able to master changes caused by technology in the work process and the work organization, to understand enterprise and the laws under

which enterprise operates. He must be multi-skilled and multi-functional, hence the need for interdisciplinary, multidisciplinary and co-disciplinary education. The border between professional and general education is hazy, for the most important elements in professional skill are proficiency in languages and ability to learn.

The financial base for education must also be widened so that investment costs fall upon all those who will ultimately benefit. However, there remains the problem of how to compensate workers for loss of income through education and the entrepreneur for loss of productivity. In the accountancy of education the greatest item of expense is the loss of income during the period of education and other losses (opportunity costs). It is difficult to take out a patent to gain product protection for the expertise produced by personnel training. Thus it is difficult to kindle the employer's interest in developing or expanding personnel training. The OECD and the EU are united in the opinion that company-centred professional further education is the most influential and effective. The problem lies in how to get the companies to finance strategic education. As a solution Schwanse (1993) has proposed the levying on employers of an education tax or payment linked to production volume which in conjunction with public power would make possible more goal-oriented individual education. Employers must appreciate that money spent on education is an investment factor with a long-term benefit, the expenses of which could be depreciated in the bookeeping in the space of a few years. Seen from this angle it would appear just that the employee, should he resign from the company before the investments made in him have born fruit, should reimburse the employer. (Cf. transfer fees of professional sportsmen between clubs!) It would be even more just if the new employer were to pay such costs with the costs of recruitment. In Japan, where functional professional skill is acquired through in-the-job trainng (Kogan & Brenan 1993), active recruitment of workers by competing firms has been extremely rare. The human capital investments the competitor has made have been respected.

As tools for change and for the solving of problems there are open system of learning and the significant intensification of distance learning. A system is defined as open when it extends the opportunities for participation so as to include all individuals. Openness is seen in content, in the physical location of supply of

education, in the mode of supply, in tools and timing and also in the learner's rate of study. Openness and flexibility are also required of the forms of support for study and methods of assessment. Distance learning is defined as forms of organization where learning takes place without the continuous physical presence of a supervisor. Distance learning is generally the most effective form of open education, but the two are not synonyms. Distance learning maybe directed towards a highly select target group.

A shift in the emphasis of education strategy places considerable demands on the study materials and means of distribution. The commercialization of materials production and distribution had created a need for improved quality control and consumer protection. Copyright, too, should be unified sufficiently within the Community. Coordination of national activity and the interests of the various parties is believed to result in the greatest possible benefit scale. Expectations in respect of adult education may well be excessively optimistic since language difficulties, the high degree of culture-relatedness inherent in adult education and the different needs constitute an obstacle to the size of full economic benefit. Nevertheless, the advantage of expertise, which different networks can assemble and pass on over the borders, can indeed be taken advantage of.

For the student who has come up through the ranks the cumulation of achievements to be proof of competence is extremely important. The documentation of expertise which has been assembled from fragments is much more difficult than studies taken within a formal school system. As a solution an education passbook or log, as it has been referred to in the EU, has been proposed, into which all the qualifications the learner has acquired in the course of his life are entered. In the matter of recognition of such achievements the trend is that if the national education authorities have accepted the equivalence of some achievement to a qualification acquired in formal education, that achievement should also be accepted in other member countries. There are differences in degree programmes, a shorter degree programme can be compensated for by professional experience, by examination or period of adaptation. The EU terminology uses the work 'transparency' to express the acceptance and transfer of achievements. In its literal sense the word means that which can be seen through, which is obvious, agreed and above

board, and this it is indicative that recognition depends on mutual trust. The belief is that national education systems function effectively and reach the objectives set. Thus there is no need for an official system of documentation through uniform sanction.

There has been a difference of opinion as to how open access to education leading to higher degrees should be. Many expert officials are opposed to the liberal line taken by the Commission and maintain that the general entrance requirements for universities should also apply to students of the open university. There is also the view that mere participation in working life and citizens' activities does not correspond to organized educational experiences and that these should not be equated with achievements gained in formal education. As a compromise demonstration and examination as a form of diagnostic assessment has been proposed as proof of competence.

In Finland in particular it is difficult to change the **Golden Gate ideology.** There for decades the model has been accepted by which only a small proportion of applicants may be allowed through the narrow Golden Gate. Side entrances for adult students are not permissable.

In education supply and demand are dependent on the economic situation of the nation. Generally in times of economic hardship the splendid pronouncements about education as a national resource are forgotten. Such has been the case in Finland where education costs have been cut drastically during the period 1993-94. EU education subsidies are minimal compared, for example, to regional and agricultural subsidies. Education subsidies are mostly concentrated on the promotion of professional mobility. The typology of professional further education presented above may be expanded to apply to adult education in general by examining education in times of fast and slow economic growth, and on the basis of whether the emphasis is narrowly centred on work qualifications or more broadly on the overall growth of the individual. The diagram includes some few descriptive epithets for each type. The view of EU memoranda, decisions and programmes falls clearly in the area of human capital, but fall is such a way that it lets national budgets carry the responsibility for investment and expects the community to reap the collective profit of an enhanced competitive position.

It is easy to harness adult education to support various intervention strategies. It is understandable that when the unemployment rate has risen above 10% (in Finland the unemployment rate in February 1994 is 21.5%), help is sought from education. Education alone creates jobs only for teachers. Thus it is easy to use education as a smoke screen and avoid direct political measures to resolve the crisis (Schlutz 1988). Politicians are seldom called to account for their promises regarding education.

		Economic Growth	
		slow	fast
Target	person	- self study on own terms - culture institutions utilized - liberal education for population **waste**	- study leave - open university - language training by firm **consumption**
	work	- selective personnel training - training for the unemployed - specialization **storage**	- qualify fast - competition for customers - supply more versatile - education as a resource and competitive edge **investment**

Figure 2. Economic growth and target of training: the derivation of adult education

6. Concluding remarks

Ilkka Niiniluoto (1993) states that the developmental goals of humanity are derived from some "great narrative" which promises progress, be this a national ethic, socialism, competitive capitalism, the welfare state, religious fundamentalism or the information society. Going along with Niiniluoto one might state that the building up of the EU on a foundation of intensified competitive economics is the last fling of that capitalism which admired the unending growth of productivity. Although the Commission has to some extent taken into account the critical feedback to the 1991 education reports for their orientation towards economics and working life, the primary function of education continues to be seen as what it can do for working life, and above all for industry. The point of departure for education is the belief in continuing economic growth and in the right as a European block to dominate world trade. The educational ideology would appear to be predominantly aresting and collinear (figure 1, see p. 21).

Niiniluoto's (ibid.) contemplation of the relation between the individual and society may also be applied to the relation between the individual member country and the union. Social problems are global problems, thus attempts to solve then cannot be confined within national borders. The politics of national selfishness, which reject negotiation and cooperation result in a situation of the prisoner's dilemma, where the efforts to optimalize the position of one party result in a poor end result for all others than would cooperation. Only trust and partnership can lead to sharing of good. It is, however, paradoxical that a partnership cannot be joined unless first a border is drawn to exclude something else. The essence of the problem is that of who shall be deemed to be Europeans and how is the relationship to the remainder to be defined. Europe cannot be the focal point of the whole world, the population of the EU is a mere 6 -7% of the world's population.

In education and research policy the strategy of partner not master has been adopted. The basic idea may be distilled as the conviction that in cooperation the interest is not in the organization of the education systems of member countries, nor yet in the unification of its content or duration. What is crucial is not the process but the end

product, the transferability of qualifications. Then there is the risk of a relapse into behavioural objectives. The thinking is otherwise dominated by the simplifying view of functionalism. Education is becoming markedly the gatekeeper of work and mobility. The importance of education is justified by the idea that technological innovations cannot be translated into practice without competent people. The Leonardo programme, for example, which is itself the extension of activity programmes in professional education sees the education supported by the union as a competitive factor and insurance against unemployment, but it also mentions the importance of education as support for social cohesion. Still, the main arguments in favour of support for education are drawn from the promotion of the community's productive and economic competitiveness.

The inclusion of support for liberal school education in the Socrates programme suggests some kind of broadening of the mandate. The second objective mentions the promotion of equality of opportunity and the intensification of teacher exchange as a part of the European education project.

The desire for stronger distance learning is attributable to the fact that this can reach 90% of those in higher education and all adult learners who are not mobile in their education. It is believed that flexible learning systems will improve the quality and productivity of education and achieve an advantage in scale in the production and distribution of materials. Unless care is taken to match the materials and content with the language and culture of the recipients, placing emphasis on the economy of size might result in Tayloristic and standardized programme production.

Distance learning is believed to bring activity programmes and the European dimension with the reach of all. The danger exists, however, that labour markets will only open up to the educated. And when education accumulates the consequence is an upsurge in the trend towards polarization and dualistic earning markets. Unemployment will be a major problem of the community for some considerable time to come - at least until there is a radical decrease in the suppply of labour. A shift in education supply from planning-oriented to market-oriented education policy exacerbates the trend towards polarization. The greater part of adult education is

personnel training organized by companies (in Sweden as much as 70%). Although in the aims of the Community the need to combine liberal education and professional education is expressed, the recommendations for action mark out a path towards a specialist society. Lack of resources in the public sector also affects education and is manifest in a shift from quantity to quality. The efficacy of education is understood to be efficiency and immediate productivity.

To what extent is the union becoming the United States of Europe, the "unity of diversity" called for by Voltaire? There are plenty of those who doubt. The president of the Commission and the comissioners responsible for the sectors are denounced as power-hungry, as as having an undemocratic system of decision-making which strengthens the powers of the specialists. An increasing number of people believe that the treaties of Rome and Maastricht are becoming like the charter of the United Nations, the American Declaration of Independence or the Declaration of Children's Rights, which have become little more than lipservice or have even parodies of their original purpose. Although in the negotiations for entry into the EU all the negotiators have achieved an agreement, public opinion does not augur well for the forthcoming referenda.

Thus from the point of view of the Nordic countries the Community would continue in its original function as a common market area and overseer of economic interests. However, education is so important an element in labour and social policy that it is inextricably to some extent linked even without explicit binding directives. In the field of education in the Community and outside it (notably in the OECD) there is at work so many-tiered a battery of experts that the officials and politicians in charge of planning and national decision-making are in such close collaboration that this must manifest itself in an isomorphic unification and in the content of education. Professional and university education in particular are in the focus of harmonization. Adult education which produces competence is being integrated more and more into the activity of the school system. For this there are two reasons: the demographic trend and dwindling resources.

In the new Europe education and also other political activity will be governed by whoever controls the allocation of funds and the availability of information. In the "global village" the dissemination

of information cannot be prevented, but the content and timing of the revelation can be controlled. The wielding of power entails the potential for active personnel policy, hire and fire. The seat of power is always close to the interests of power. Measured in terms of the budgets and personnel numbers education is not the focal point of European politics. Indeed, as the state has increasingly taken over the tasks of the national society, its legitimation has come under fire (Habermas 1975). The borders in particular of political and cultural systems (to which last adult education has traditionally belonged) have become indistinct. What was once clearly a border area is now the territory of administrative planning. Traditions and practice are thematized into syllabi and eduational planning, exchange programmes, education for the unemployed, prognoses for the need for labour. But since national tradition is, alongside the identity of the nation-state, the most important bearer of state legitimacy, and since it cannot *post facto* be rationalized, the education system, particularly adult education always remains to some extent "free" (Dale 1989). The EU must succeed in the education of the Eurocitizen and build up a Eurotradition before it will be possible to speak of undivided education. But because the modern education system has over 150 years succeeded tolerably well in its mission in the industrialized countries at national level to set up a national state which unites educational and work hierarchies, it is logical to expect that it will also succeed in its mission over national boundaries.

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CONTINUING HIGHER EDUCATION IN CANADA, FINLAND AND THE UNITED KINGDOM

Malcolm Tight

Continuing Education and Higher Education

The idea of continuing education has come to assume greater and greater prominence over the last two decades, and it is now widely accepted as a necessary concommitant of economic, social and technological development. The term 'continuing education' is used here to refer to all education (and training) undertaken after initial education has been completed. A number of characteristics of continuing education are implied by this definition. First, continuing education is essentially an adult activity. Second, given the nature of adult life, with the varied demands posed by work, home and social roles, continuing education is likely to be a part-time activity in terms of individual commitment. And third, we are concerned here with formal or organised forms of learning: 'education' rather than all forms of learning.

When we consider the relationship between continuing education and higher education, the former can be viewed as a more general concept which either wholly or partly, depending on one's view of adulthood, encompasses higher education. Continuing higher education may then be defined as those aspects of higher education which are concerned with adult students; or, alternatively, as those elements of continuing education which demand higher learning, and are organised and provided by recognised higher education institutions.

The purpose of this paper is to examine how continuing higher education is organised in three developed countries - Canada, Finland and the United Kingdom - and to assess whether there are any general lessons to be learned from their practices and experiences (see also Tight 1994). The paper is in three sections. First, some of the differences between the higher education systems of Canada, Finland and the United Kingdom are outlined. Second, the different forms and structures which continuing higher education has taken in the three systems are compared. And, third, the meanings and functions attached to institutions and types of provision in the three countries are reviewed, before some conclusions are drawn regarding the similarities and differences between these system responses.

Changing Higher Education Systems

While the nature and purpose of higher education is basically the same in the three countries examined, there are significant differences in the size, organisation and funding of their systems.

Though the overall sizes of the United Kingdom and Canadian higher education systems are similar, Canada's population is about half that of the United Kingdom, so its participation rate is proportionately higher. Statistics collected by the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development suggest that 66% of the 'typical age group' is enrolled in higher education in Canada, compared to just 26% in the United Kingdom (OECD 1993, table P11). Though the Finnish higher education system is much smaller, its enrolment rate, 58% according to the OECD's figures, is close to that of the mass participation Canadian system.

The funding systems employed in the three systems also differ, though all three are dominated by the state. The OECD's figures show that, of the three, Finland devotes the largest proportion of public expenditure to education. Canada, for its part, allocates the highest proportion of state expenditure on education to higher education. And the United Kingdom, which historically had the most generous student support system (at least for full-time students),

matches Canada in terms of public expenditure per higher education student (ibid, tables P2, P3, P6).

In Finland, student numbers are closely controlled by the state. In both Canada and the United Kingdom control is exercised through formula funding mechanisms, though actual decisions on enrolment targets are largely left to the individual institutions. Because of the relatively higher student fees charged in the United Kingdom, its universities have recently had more scope to over-recruit, particularly in non-laboratory subjects. However, the British government is now showing concern about the implications of rapid expansion, and has accordingly reduced the fees charged for non-laboratory subjects in an attempt to bring growth back under control.

Many other differences between the three systems could be identified. In Finland, for example, the first degree was, until recently, at master's rather than bachelor's level. Hence, qualification has taken proportionately longer to achieve. This has obvious implications for the idea of continuing education, with young adults remaining in initial higher education longer.

Canada, with mass participation, has relatively fewer students enrolled on science and engineering courses, but proportionately more women students. The higher education system in Canada, seen from the perspective of the United Kingdom, appears to be essentially unitary, based around the university. While there are different forms of community or vocational colleges in some provinces, these would not necessarily be thought of as higher education institutions in either Finland or the United Kingdom.

In the United Kingdom, the system has just become unitary, at least in principle, with the conversion of the polytechnics and some larger colleges into universities. In reality, other hierarchies are asserting themselves within an enlarged university sector; most notably the division between research universities and those that focus primarily on teaching.

Finland, by comparison, seems to be moving away from the single sector approach. It is in the process of establishing a higher vocational education system, somewhat along the lines of the former

United Kingdom polytechnics, to parallel and perhaps compete with the universities (Helander 1992).

Given these differences in the organisation and provision of higher education, the potential for variations in continuing higher education is obviously considerable. This is doubly so when it is borne in mind that, unlike higher education, continuing education is a relatively recent term and is used with a good deal of flexibility.

Alternative Forms of Continuing Higher Education

Since 'continuing education' is, in essence, an English term, it is perhaps not surprising that it seems easier to identify and categorise forms of continuing higher education in the United Kingdom. The relatively elite nature of its higher education system (until comparatively recently), and its closer adherence to the now much derided 'front-end' model of provision - where educational participation is seen primarily as an activity for the young - also make the distinction between 'initial' and 'continuing' participation simpler to make.

United Kingdom. Taking an overview of United Kingdom continuing higher education, we can recognise the following patterns of provision (Tight 1990):

- mature students forming an increasing element of the full-time student population, concentrated in the ex-polytechnics (now the 'new' universities);
- one 'national' university (the Open University) specialising in providing part-time study at-a-distance;
- one university college (Birkbeck College in London) specialising in providing part-time face-to-face evening study;
- a group of large former polytechnics located in the big cities (Belfast, Birmingham, Bristol, Edinburgh, Glasgow, Hull, Leeds, Liverpool, London, Manchester, Newcastle, Sheffield), providing a range of part-time courses, notably

in business studies and other vocational subjects, as part of their mainstream activities;

- growing programmes of short, post-experience vocational and professional courses offered by most institutions of higher education, sometimes organised by a continuing education department or office, but more often provided directly by specific subject departments (Tight and Sidhu 1992);
- named departments (variously entitled adult education, continuing education, external studies, extra-mural studies, or combinations of these titles) in many of the older universities offering a range of part-time general or liberal adult education classes, sometimes linked to small-scale part-time degree programmes, but largely operating on the margins of their institutions.

Thus the department within the university which is specifically labelled 'continuing education' may organise or contain only some elements of the whole institution's continuing education provision.

The Department of Continuing Education in which I work, at the University of Warwick, has been in existence for less than ten years. It is involved in most of the activities identified above: i.e. provision for full-time mature students, part-time degree and diploma courses, adult education classes and post-experience vocational education (see Figure 1). However, much of the direct provision is organised by or through other parts of the university, as well as outside the university, so that the major involvement of the department's full-time academic staff is in delivering the third and fourth of the five areas identified.

Figure 1: University of Warwick
Department of Continuing Education

1. Open Courses for Adults:
   - liberal adult education
   - access provision
   - certificates
2. Part-time degrees
3. Professional Training for Adult Educators
4. Research in Continuing Education
5. University Catalyst (e.g. PICKUP, 2 + 2 Degrees)

The University of Coventry, to take a second English example, is located in the same city as Warwick University, but has a very different (and much longer) history. Until recently a polytechnic, this 'new' university does not have a single identified continuing education department. Instead, there is a general philosophy of opening up all provision to different age groups; so that mature students, studying either full-time or part-time, are common on most of its modularised degree programmes. In addition, however, there are a number of initiatives specifically in the continuing education area (see Figure 2). These are designed to attract adult students into existing programmes, and to provide short courses of a vocational or non-vocational nature.

Figure 2: University of Coventry
Adult and Continuing Education Initiatives

1. Local entry schemes:
   - access courses
   - associate student scheme (single module study)
   - franchised courses (offered in local colleges)
   - accreditation of prior learning
2. Mini-module programme (adult education)
3. Short courses for local employers

Canada. In Canada the organisation of continuing higher education is in some ways similar to the pattern identified in the United Kingdom, but in others quite different. But, perhaps more significantly, its institutional expression appears to be just as varied as in the United Kingdom.

Adult learners have formed an overall majority of the higher education student population for some years (Campbell 1984), and are commonplace in nearly all universities and colleges. Part-time study for credit is normally integrated with full-time provision across many if not all university departments. Part-time students form a major part of the enrolment of all the large city universities, and in some cases actually out-number full-timers: e.g. at the Université du Québec à Montréal, Université de Montréal, and the Ryerson Polytechnical Institute in Toronto (Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada 1991).

Despite the prevalence of the integrated model, there are also a few Canadian specialist institutions which are akin to Birkbeck College. Atkinson College, part of York University on the northern edge of Toronto, is the most obvious example, since it was in part modelled on Birkbeck College. Woodsworth College, part of the University of Toronto, is somewhat similar though less well developed.

Unlike the United Kingdom, there is no national open university in Canada. In such a large country, however, distance education is widely practised in varied and flexible ways. There are a number of specialist distance teaching institutions, including Athabasca University in Alberta, the Open Learning Agency in British Columbia and the Télé-université in Québec. Many departments or centres in other universities and colleges also offer distance education courses (Canadian Association for University Continuing Education 1992, Mugridge and Kaufman 1986).

Most Canadian universities also have one or more departments, centres or units which meet some of the other functions - vocational and non-vocational education for adults - frequently carried out in the United Kingdom by departments of adult or continuing education. Their names are similiarly varied. They differ in placing less emphasis on liberal adult education, for which few subsidies are available, and correspondingly more on post-experience and

professional courses, which are less commonly organised by subject departments (Statistics Canada 1990).

As an illustration of the diversity of organisational patterns, two Canadian university 'continuing education' departments may be compared. At the bilingual University of Ottawa, the Service for Continuing Education only deals with non-credit or distant students. All mature students studying within the university for credit, either full-time or part-time, are dealt with by subject departments (see Figure 3). The Service has two main but largely separate functions: one offering short, increasingly customised, courses in professional and personal development; the other running distance education programmes (usually for credit).

Figure 3: University of Ottawa
Service for Continuing Education

1. Professional Development
   - customized training
   - skills development
2. Personal Development
   - creative and cultural programmes
3. Enrichment mini-courses (for schools)
4. Distance Education
   - for credit
   - conferences

By contrast, at Dalhousie University in Halifax, Nova Scotia, a fuller range of continuing education services is centrally organised by Henson College, a department with faculty status (see Figure 4). It offers a range of credit and non-credit programmes, with separate units specialising in advanced management and public management. The credit courses offered include some pre-university courses for mature students, summer school and some evening programmes, and a range of certificate and diploma courses organised with other departments.

Figure 4: Dalhousie University
Henson College of Public Affairs and Continuing Education

1. Advanced Management Centre
2. Centre for Public Management
3. Mature Access Program
4. Combined Summer and Evening Program
   - credit
   - non-credit
5. Cooperative ventures with other departments
   - certificate and diploma programs
6. Employment and Training Symposia

Finland. The arrangements in Finland can, similarly, be both compared and contrasted with those in Canada and the United Kingdom. Mature students are about as common within full-time higher education as they are in the United Kingdom, but significantly less common than in Canada (Slowey 1988). Their increasing importance may, however, have more to do with the prolonged period of study necessary to achieve the first degree than with the growth of continuing education as such (Kivinen & Rinne 1991). Part-time study within higher education is not formally recognised, in common with most other western European countries, though many students are effectively studying part-time while they support themselves through paid employment (Tight 1991).

While, as in Canada, there is no national Open University, there is a national open university system organised by universities and other institutions throughout Finland (Immonen & Rinta-Kanto 1991). This is 'open' in terms of access, and mixes local teaching and independent study with some distance education in what has been called 'multiform' provision. The open university system acts to an increasing extent as a reserve system for those who are unable to gain entry to the conventional universities, allowing for the possibility of transfer between the two after an initial period of study (Parjanen 1993).

Finland is, again like Canada, a sparsely populated country. Not surprisingly, therefore, distance education is increasingly practiced by many universities, and usually directed at adult learners. Many departments and units are involved in either experimental or established forms of provision.

All 20 Finnish university institutions have at least one further education centre or department, which can be seen as broadly equivalent to the United Kingdom continuing education departments (Panhelainen 1991). These may have a wide variety of responsibilities, offering distance education, open university provision and professional and vocational courses; or they may focus on only a limited range of activities. They are unusual, when compared to Canada and the United Kingdom, in also offering a rapidly growing number of courses for the graduate unemployed (sometimes referred to as supplementary education), specially funded by the state.

There are also organisations called summer universities, which are not universities in the normally understood sense of the term, but part of the general adult education system. Their legal basis remains confused, as shown recently by the decision of the Chancellor of Justice on March 8th 1994. They are usually organised locally outside the universities, and, as their name suggests, they offer courses during the summer. The role of the summer universities overlaps increasingly with that of the open university system.

As in the case of the other two countries discussed, the diversity within the Finnish continuing higher education system may be illustrated by reference to two examples, Lahti and Jyväskylä. These are in fact the two largest continuing higher education centres in Finland.

The Lahti Research and Training Centre, the largest specialist continuing education outpost of the University of Helsinki, is situated about 100 km from the capital city. It can be said to have four main functions: open university activities, professional and employment-oriented training, research and development in economic and environmental issues, and (cutting across all of these) distance education (see Figure 5).

Figure 5: University of Helsinki Lahti Research and Training Centre

1. Open University Activities
   - face-to-face
   - distance
   - third age
2. Continuing Professional Education
   - for graduates in employment
   - for unemployed graduates
3. Research and Development Services
   - environmental research
   - economic promotion
4. Distance Education Centre
5. Environmental Unit
6. International Development Projects

By comparison, the Continuing Education Centre at the University of Jyväskylä appears to have a somewhat wider spread of activities. This includes the provision of advanced management training (a Master of Business Administration (MBA) programme is offered), public administration consultancy, in-service teacher training and international congresses alongside open university activities and employment-related training (see Figure 6). Uniquely, the local summer university is also organised from the same centre.

Figure 6: University of Jyväskylä Continuing Education Centre

1. Continuing Professional Education
   - In-service Teacher Training
   - Physical and Health Education
   - Advanced Management Training
   - Public Administration
   - Communication Research and Training
   - Information Technology Training
2. Congresses
3. Professional Redeployment Training
4. Open University and Summer University activities
5. Chydenius Institute

Meanings and Functions

This comparative overview immediately suggests at least four areas of similarity or difference between the three countries examined.

First, some labels are clearly being used to mean different things in the three systems (the translation of terms is, of course, problematic here). Perhaps the most obvious example is the label 'open university', used in its (original?) United Kingdom context to refer to an open access, distance teaching university, and subsequently applied to a wide variety of more or less similar institutional forms throughout the world (Bell and Tight 1993). Thus, in the Finnish context, the term can - at least when Finns are themselves engaging in comparitive analysis by writing in English - happily be applied to a multi-institutional, national system in which distance teaching is a relatively minor feature.

Second, in other cases different labels seem to be being employed to refer to essentially the same activity. What the English refer to, sometimes, as post-experience vocational education can be compared with what the Finnish translate as supplementary education.

Similarly, the community colleges to be found in parts of Canada (as well as much more widely throughout the United States) are akin to the English further education colleges (Cantor 1992, Tipton 1990).

Third, there are some institutions or types of provision which are not to be found in all of the countries examined. Perhaps the most obvious example is the Finnish summer university, which has parallels in the summer session activities organised by some Canadian universities (e.g. Dalhousie), but, with the exception of limited small-scale examples (as at Lancaster), is absent in the United Kingdom.

Similarly, with the recent demise of the binary higher education system in the United Kingdom, and excluding the particular (and changing) case of Ryerson Polytechnical Institute in Toronto, Finland appears to be alone in its current development of the polytechnic. This may, however, be another example of the same label being used to signify different things. Universities themselves are not, after all, identical or static institutional forms.

And, fourth, there are evident differences between what different institutions think of as continuing education, and between how the associated responsibilities are split between named continuing education units and other parts of the university. The credit/non-credit divide appears to be particularly significant here. Thus, while most of the continuing education units examined are restricted in the extent to which they can or do directly offer degree programmes on their own, some are active in this area.

Alongside these differences, real or apparent, we may identify a series of related issues which appear to be common within the three systems of continuing higher education under discussion, and may be generalisable to others. These concerns in part reflect the instability and non-standardisation of what is a relatively new field of institutional organisation, but they also seem to underscore the sheer breadth (at least potentially) of this whole area of activity.

These issues include:

- the very variety of activity which is, or might be, recognised as continuing higher education, and whether this range is seen as, in some sense, unified, linked or, to use a popular 1980s term, synergetic (see also Panhelainen 1992);
- whether all the elements of continuing higher education are seen as the responsibility of separate institutions (the 'separate' model); of one unit, centre or department within an institution (the 'single unit' model); of a number of units, departments, centres or institutions (the 'multi-unit' model); or as the business of the whole university (the 'integrated' model);
- where the boundary is placed between the responsibilities of the public and private sectors, and the extent to, and areas of activity in, which continuing higher education may be subsidised by the state;
- the varying degree to which collaboration as opposed to competition (covert or overt) is regarded as the norm within the public sector;
- the pressures on all higher education institutions to further 'open up', diversify and expand their provision.

Some Conclusions

What is of particular interest here is perhaps not the overall differences between the Canadian, Finnish and United Kingdom systems of continuing higher education, as they are at present constituted, but the similarity in their internal variety and patterns of response. Despite the arguments in favour of continuing education, there appears to be no general acceptance in any of the systems examined of a standard, unified model of continuing education. Thus, in each country, there are examples of separate, single unit, multi-unit and integrated models, and variants of these, being applied.

Similarly, there is no clear or consistent view on which aspects of continuing education universities should be involved in, and on what basis, and on which aspects, if any, they should leave to the private sector. And, linked to this, there is a good deal of lip service given to the ideal of collaboration, while a lot of covert competition is carried on.

In the light of this apparent uncertainty over the functions, structuring and modus operandi of continuing higher education, the external pressures upon higher education institutions to do more and more in this general area appear particularly problematic. These demands are growing in each of the countries examined, but particularly Finland (e.g Kivinen, Rinne and Hyppönen 1992) and the United Kingdom (e.g. Smithers and Robinson 1989).

And this, of course, suggests a further, but inevitably interim, conclusion. For continuing higher education is far from static: it cannot be, as it is in large part a response to changes in society, economy and technology. In only five years time the patterns examined here will likely look very different. While it is tempting to suggest that they may become more common between countries, it is difficult, and would probably be mistaken, to point to a single model, or even a small group of models, of continuing higher education to follow.

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ADULT HIGHER EDUCATION ON THE PERIPHERIES OF EUROPE, IN FINLAND AND IRELAND

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1. Introduction

The aim of this article is to present a picture of adult higher education (AHE) in two European countries, Finland and Ireland. The criteria for the comparison include these countries' respective higher education systems and societal factors and the inherent responsiveness. Finally the comparison is coloured by the countries' respective relations to the European Union. This last is a particularly pertinent factor, as Ireland is a long term member (as of 1973) whereas at the time this article goes to press in spring 1994 the assent of the Europarliament to Finland's membership is a very recent event. This means that, after a referendum, Finland could become a member of the EU as of the beginning of 1995.

It is not within the scope of the present article to embark upon a profound analysis of the dependency relationships between these countries. The basic aim is rather to show how two countries geographically peripherally situated, widely disparate as regards cultural and historical background and social structure may yet be surprisingly close to each other as regards educational institutions, and particularly in AHE. These two countries share no historical connection, although in Ireland especially there is currently a popular claim that the structural factor which these countries have in common is the presence of a great and mighty neighbour. Finns have ceased to percieve the threatening neighbour as such except at the level of (negative) attitude.

The previous articles in this book described the Finnish AHE system. By way of a brief repetition let it only be noted that in

Finland adult liberal education goes back a long way, and is to this day quantatively born out by the individual active self-educators from the lower reaches of the social strata right up to academic level. In the space of one year (1990) in a country of 5 million people some two million, i.e. approximately half the labour force, were involved in some form of adult education. The adult education at the universities naturally accounts for a minority of these. In 1990 the proportion of AHE students of all adult education students was 7.4% (Simpanen & Blomqvist 1992). ILO statistics show that in the course of three decades the proportion of the Finnish labour force engaged in academic and comparable professions in the fields of technology and other specialized areas has trebled, as indeed is the case in the other Nordic countries. For Finland the rise is from 8.2% to 23.4% of the labour force. In many of the countries of western Europe - including Ireland - the proportion over the same period of time has roughly doubled, and remained clearly smaller than in Scandinavia (Sulkunen 1992). The figures for Ireland are 7.1% in 1960 and 13.4% in 1988. Finland is one of those countries in which the rise of the new middle class has been one of the most dramatic. The competition for status and also the diminishing number of jobs has simultaneously become more intense. This it would seem has opened up new vistas for university continuing education in the form of increased demand and new market areas. (Panhelainen & Parjanen 1993).

Each Finnish university has its own centre for continuing education. Actual names may vary, but their mission is largely one and the same. The oldest of these is Tampere University Institute for Extension Studies, whose very name is intended to convey that the centre engages in continuing professional education and open university instruction and employment training, consulting and whatever comes within the field of a university extension. In the present article all these centres are referred to as "Adult Higher Education Centres" (**AHE centres**). The article by Kivinen & Rinne in this book states explicitly that the role of these centres has not as yet become entirely clear, at least to the university traditionalists, who percieve in the centres a threat to research and basic instruction.

In international comparison the university continuing education in Finland is seen to be particularly effective in the sense that it is not

dependent on employers or employee organizations nor yet on political parties. It must, however, be admitted that since all the 20 Finnish universities are state-owned, the Ministry of Education exercises considerable authority over their activities. For the open university and for continuing professional education this has been fortuitous, since it has been through Ministry sanctions, including the allocation of financial resources, that reluctant universities have been brought to accept AHE as one of the basic functions of the university.

The close connection to basic university instruction and research, both as regards content and administration has provided the AHE centres with social status and scientific modernity. It is thus the task of the AHE centre to process and refine the knowledge originating in the scientific departments of the university into a form which, in a training package, also includes elements of everyday work. Many European countries, including Ireland, do not have such institutions, but the same functions are performed in a rather different administrative form.

Ireland and Finland have in common an agrarian background and a peripheral location in Europe. Both may be described as "green", the one by virtue of its fields the other by virtue of its forests. The term "peripheral" is not popular in Ireland, the feeling being that it is situated physically very close to the heart of Europe. For the Finns, however, the same term is less emotionally loaded (and it is just in this emotional quality that the difference between the two nations at its greatest, the one being the land of emotional warmth, the other being the land of emotional cool). The Finns are clearly aware of being in the far-flung north-eastern corner of Europe where the commercial, cultural, scientific and physical connection to Europe is geographically remote. The theoretical analysis of European unification has produced two theories: The first of these, the **banana theory**, has it that the remote EU areas will continue to be peripheral and come in for the loser's lot, this being the effect of distance and small markets. The banana-shaped area consists of that bounded in the north by London, in the south by Turin, having Germany in the centre. Neither Finland nor Ireland fall within its contours. The newer theory is known as the **mosaic theory**. According to this the EU consists of a Europe of regions, of numerous areas of growth and emphasis. The expression "Europe of

Regions" is invoked when it is desirable to allay apprehensions of Brussels as the overlord. According to this theory all the regions of Europe are capable of growth and development if only attention is paid to their unique characteristics. (Raumolin 1991).

The account of AHE in Ireland and Finland presented below follows the mosaic regional model, i.e. the unique characteristics of those countries are perceived as advantages. Initially a somewhat surprising similarity is described which manifests itself in AHE. Thereafter follow the differences in social structure and culture. These are very clear.

2. Similarities and differences in adult higher education

The following is an attempt to show that these countries, so disparate as regards social structure, support fairly similar types of AHE.

The Irish scholar D.A. Dineen (1992) uses the expression "**Europeanisation** of Irish universities" by which he means a range of activities, initiatives, networks or programmes within Irish universities which are based on a European orientation or have some clear European dimension. The four following changes which are currently under way in European universities he sees both as threats and as opportunities:

1. Less dependence on national governments for funding
2. More market led or driven
3. More dependence on international (EC) funding and markets
4. Stronger linkages to industry

Dineen (1992, 409) also perceives dangers in this development: "Society has a right to demand certain outputs from the universities and universities have an obligation to respond responsibly. However, should society deny universities their birthright in terms of their autonomy and freedom it would do so at its peril." At all events the quality of Irish education will be weighed through European audit. Europeanisation puts pressure on the humanities and the

development of so-called "vehicular" disciplines within universities which reflect the essence of the critical influence universities should espouse. Dineen fears that these changes may be the end of the universities' *esprit critique* of the social systems in which they reside.

The Finnish education system finds itself amid changes in the same direction, even though the country is only at the stage of applying for EU membership. Response to the four factors of change mentioned above has already split Finnish university folk into two camps, traditionalists and utilitarians. Both maintain that their course is the right one. It would appear at present that those belonging to the latter group (who naturally resist such a name and consider themselves "progressives") are winning more and more interim victories day by day. In Finland the AHE centres have made a clear decision as to where they stand and have made particularly concrete preparations in order to meet the changes caused by these four factors. This development is furthered by the designation by the Commision of the European Communities (1991,15) of the following five critical areas for development in higher education in the future:

1. Participation and access to higher education
2. Partnership with economic life
3. Continuing education
4. Open and distance education
5. The European dimension in higher education

Of these the first four are already a part of the everyday life of Finnish AHE centres, thus their activity enjoys prestigious European support which the traditionalists dare not dismiss. These factors are also important for the Irish AHE centres (c.f. Council of Europe 1987, O'Buachalla 1988, O'Sullivan 1989 and 1992, The Green Paper on Education 1993). Table 1 shows the numerous manifestations of Irish adult and continuing education.

Table 1. Varieties of adult and continuing education provision

	Liberal	Social	Vocational	Certification	Interventionist
Content/Orientation	Active and conceptual courses of a self-development, hobby/recreational nature	Social, political and economic studies, community development, leadership, family life and parenting courses	Largely in-service courses, not generally leading to marketable qualifications	Re-entry to second- and third-level educational programmes	Basic and social skills, sheltered training, consciousness raising
	Vocational education committees (second-level schools and regional technical colleges)	Macra na Feirme Muintir na Tire Marriage advisory councils University extra-murals	AnCO Irish Management Institute Institute of Public Administration ACOT	Second- and third-level education institutions Correspondence colleges	Literacy schemes National Rehabilitation Institute Prison Service Compensatory schemes
Providers	Institutions such as The People's College, Dublin Institute of Adult Education Radio Telefís Éireann Sporting and cultural organisations	Radio Telefís Éireann Institutions such as The People's College, Dublin Institute of Adult Education	Trade unions College of Industrial Relations Third-level colleges	Professional bodies	Advocacy and Activist groups representing minorities and the disadvantages

Source: O'Sullivan 1989, 213.

Many of these orientations and providers have parallels in Finland, although differences in emphasis do occur. For example the Irish Management Institute (IMI) and the Institute of Public Administration (IPA) mentioned in Table 1 are high-level institutions with opposite numbers in Finland, with, however, one clear difference. The Irish institutions have the right to confer degrees at Bachelor's and Master's level. The Finnish educational institutions are characterized by the **Golden Gate ideology**. This refers to the fact that the entrance to higher education officially regulated by the state is through a narrow gate. Those who pass out through this are granted certificates only by universities on certain precisely defined conditions. Other institutions have no opportunity to grant such certificates, particularly Bachelor's and Master's

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degrees. Until the present day at least credentialism has taken care that higher education has an exchange value, and that with such a diploma one may change jobs. The present major unemployment in academic areas may well, in the course of time, break the widespread supremacy of certificates. There is at the moment in Finland a debate in progress as to whether the open university instruction at the AHE centres should be cut back so as to avoid there being any competition with those who exit by the Golden Gate. The student unions in particular have assumed in this a kind of trade union role. The traditionalist professors of the universities have also rallied to the gatekeeper front in the hope that cutbacks in the activities of the open university might result in a return to the "good old days" of the 1960s when the universities had no such extensionist tendencies. In Ireland, too, there are isolated indications of thinking along such exclusive lines, but in no way to such an extent as in Finland. The reality of the Golden Gate is reflected in the statistics which show that in Finland of the matriculating age cohort only 46% are admitted to some kind of further studies and of these still fewer to the universities (KM 1994: 1, 44). Thus the majority continues to stand hopeful or desperate at the mercy of the gatekeepers.

One common feature of these two countries has to do with the university status just described. In both countries there are institutions striving for close cooperation with the universities regardless of whether they have the right to issue higher education certificates. The Irish IMI and IPA and the National Distance Education Centre are examples of such large institutions. This last-named central organization has functioned since 1982 as a faculty of the Dublin City University. The corresponding institutions to IMI and IPA in Finland are the LIFIM and the VKK. Distance education, however, is spread out in tens of small institutions. Apparently Ireland's membership of the EC has created a well-developed system which in Finland is so far lacking. *Comhairle Náisiúnta Na gCáilíochtai Oideachais,* the National Council for Educational Awards - Ireland (NCEA) has developed a system called Accumulation of Credits and Certification of Subjects (ACCS) which provides part-time students from various fields with an opportunity to obtain certificates, diplomas and degrees at the level of higher education. Clearly, Finland will establish a similar credit transfer system.

The close cooperation with economic life which is part of Europeanisation is similar in both countries, although there may be slight differences in the modes of action. The University Industry Programme (UIP) at University College Dublin is an example of a model created for this purpose. Its importance to the university is emphasized by the fact that the chairman of the board is the vice-chancellor of the university. The functions assigned to the UIP (e.g. MBA programmes) are in Finland generally under the AHE centres.

There is a similarity between the education organized for the unemployed in both countries as here the regional aspect comes in for emphasis. There are, for example, in Finland organizations corresponding to *Foras Aiseanna Saothair* (FAS). Where in Ireland, for example, the unemployed have by way of training and in cooperation with University College Galway restored Blemerville Windmill for tourists, so the AHE centre at the University of Turku have done the same thing with Bengtskär Lighthouse off the south coast of Finland. Unemployment in both countries is among the highest in Europe - in Ireland there are more long-term unemployed - but there are two distinct differences between them. In the first place EC support for education for the unemployed is strong. FAS, for example, has received 40% of its finances from the EC. Perhaps things will go the same way in Finland. Secondly, Irish society as a whole is governed by a powerful migratory tendency. Following a centuries-old tradition the unemployed have moved abroad *en masse*. Among foreign students there are many descendants of Irish emigrants. In Finland this is very rare.

In conclusion let it be stated that the irrefutable similarity between Irish and Finnish higher education is seen in the trend for state regulation. In 1993 both countries published their own governmental programmes of principles. There was much the same in these. It is particularly noteworthy that both attached importance to AHE and to the amelioration of its status. Both expressed the hope that adult education would at last be accepted alongside basic education and research as the basic mission of the universities (c.f. Green Paper 1993, VN 1993, KM 1994:1). It may be assumed that in the field of AHE this trend would have developed without the Europeanisation phenomenon.

3. Societal factors, values and national identity

The present chapter is intended to describe those national characteristics which differentiate Irish and Finnish society from each other. The previous chapter showed how many similarities there are in the AHE of these countries. The question now arises as to whether education has, after all, some intercultural significance because the differences in societal actors give reason to assume that they would also cause clear differences in AHE.

The celebrated organization researcher Amitai Etzioni's theory of the active society embodies the idea that a well-functioning society needs both planning and spontaneity (Parjanen 1993). Etzioni holds that it is essential that spontaneous unanimity of values should prevail in society. In practice this means that what people want is argued over and agreed upon. In an overmanaged, drifting or passive society this is not the case. An active society, on the other hand, is thus responsive in that it can react to the frustration of people's needs and is capable of self-assessment. It can thus react to feedback. At macro level **responsiveness** is subject to influence from structural factors of central government administration, from social factors and also from the system of values of the nation and subgroups. At organizational level the expectations of structure factors and attitudinal climates and also of individual level become apparent. At present in Finland the effects of the weaknesses in the responsiveness between education and working life are being experienced. While working life has in the last four years seen the most dramatic changes since the Second World War, the educational system has panicked into setting about making changes simultaneously everywhere from kindergarten to university education. The pressure to make changes has been so strong that the victims of graduate unemployment have had cause to note that, ironic as it may seem, the slogan about lifelong learning has come all too true: When there is no chance of a job for years, all that remains is further education. At present the Finnish AHE-centres are seen as being of social and therapeutic importance, but such a positive status may in the course of years weaken and even sink if they are obliged to dispense "too-long-learning".

Kontiainen & Manninen (1992,91-94) have presented in Figure 1 a framework for adult education in which changes in **social learning environment** is seen as one of the significant factors.

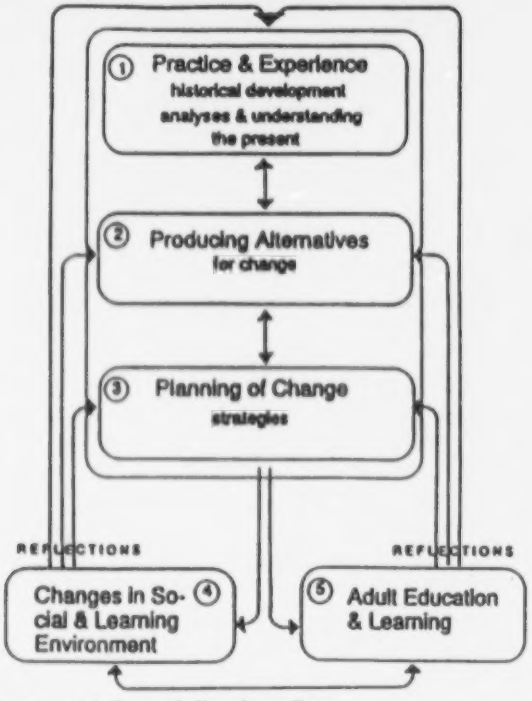

Figure 1. A framework for adult education

(Source: Kontiainen & Manninen 1992, 92)

It is just this category which contains those societal factors which might explain the differences between Irish and Finnish AHE. They are connected to structural factors conditioned by history, attitudinal climate and even behavioural habits which can be brought out ethnomethodologically. At the present moment the attitudes of individuals and groups in particular are caught in the choppy waters of hopes and fears realting to the EU.

It may be that certain differences between Irish and Finnish society have their roots in religion and its attitude towards work. Without placing too much faith in Max Weber's theory of the "protestant ethic", it has been empirically shown that in Finnish working life the

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most important value has become that of **"pulling through"** even when conditions are hard - even at the price of health. The Finn's attitude to work is not geared towards "satisfaction" but to the preservation of "honour" (Kortteinen 1992). There has continually been research in the behavioural sciences and psychiatry to find a connection in Finland between work, education and suicide. UN statistics show that in reported suicides per 100,000 inhabitants Finland, with 25, comes second after Hungary. Ireland, for its part, (4.7%) comes low on the list with Spain and Greece (United Nations 1979). In Finland it is young men in particular who are more prone to commit suicide, a fact which has led to assumptions about a relationship of dependence between "pulling through" and the general attitude to work and the susceptibility to suicide.

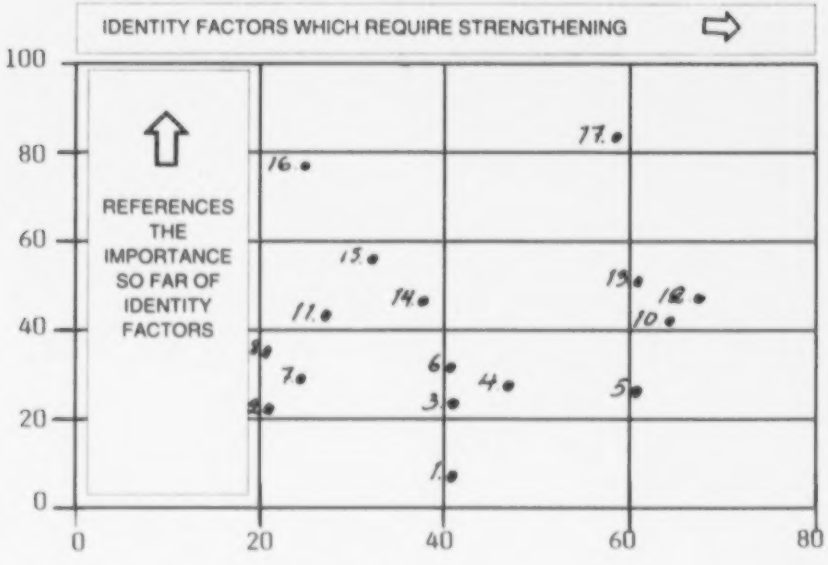
The system of values of the Irish people provokes questions about empirical comparisons in different countries which suggest that Ireland differs in certain aspects from the other western industrial countries. Inglehart (1990) for example in his synthesizing study of numerous empirical studies shows that the Irish are different as regards religion, gender roles and sexual norms. Table 1 in the Appendix is an example of the relations between political activity, economic development, gender and religion. From these it can be seen that Ireland and Finland are seldom close together. Finland would appear to be among the countries of most political discussion, particularly as far as women are concerned.

The dependency relations between the world of values and education have just now reached a new situation, and for the precise reason that there has been a sudden rise in graduate unemployment. According to the Eurobarometer research (Finland is not included in this information) Irish women especially (compare with their low political activity) are on average more satified with life as a whole. "Happiness by educational level" shows that **in Ireland there is on average more happiness where there is higher education** (Inglehart 1990, 221-448).

The comparative statistics shows for mean life satisfaction by level of economic development that most countries come close to the diagonal (including Finland). The overall pattern is clear: Wealthier nations tend to show higher levels of life satisfaction than poorer ones. Ireland is an exception to this. With a GNP of less than half

that of West Germany Ireland shows a higher level of life satisfaction. (Inglehart 1990, 32).

There would appear to rage a never-ending conflict between researchers of didactics and sociology of education in scientific research and practical experience of adult education. The main bone of contention, however, is only differences in emphasis. Figure 1. above shows how closely these factors are linked. Sociology of education seeks to account for the phenomena of education through social structural factors. They are envisaged as fairly static. On the other hand the sociological approach also utilizes variables connected to the world of values. For example, recent Finnish research findings show that among other things the **Finnish identity** is on the move. Most notably between different agegroups there exist differences in the conception of the Finnish identity. For the older agegroups diligence, enterprise and reliability are important for identity, whereas the young consider the significance of nature and the forests more important. It may come as a surprise that Finnish youth considers in 1993 that the most reliable institutions are the police, the judicial system, the school system and the defence forces. The political parties, Parliament and civil servants are ranked among the least reliable.



1. Being European, Finland as a part of Europe
2. Ethnocultural unity
3. Achievements in the arts
4. Activity in international cooperation
5. Scientific and technological development
6. Nordic democracy and equality
7. Finnish language
8. Top level sport
9. Rural areas and rural way of life
10. Diligence, enterprise
11. Special position between East and West
12. High quality of work and products
13. Level of education and general culture
14. Reliability
15. Special features of Finnish national culture
16. Independence and the sacrifices it required
17. Forests, nature, peace in nature

Figure 2. Formation of Finnish identity (%).

Source: EVA (1993,41)

Figure 2 cross references the importance so far of identity factors and the factors which require strengthening.

Jean-Francois Battail, the French ideology historian takes the view that liberal education is an essential feature of Nordic identity. Annually 8 million adults engage in this. Battail urges us to take greater pride in such an identity. He believes that there is in the Nordic liberal education something Utopian. This education places the individual in the centre, applying a philosophy according to which each individual has something to say, and each individual is able to enrich the group. Battail finds this thinking practically incomprehensible to continental Europeans. They are accustomed to conceiving of education from the point of view of pure economic advantage. (Battail 1993).

For some twenty years the Finnish identity has included a popular impression that it is like "winning the jackpot" to be born in Finland. Figure 3 shows a change to the negative direction in this. This is no alarm signal, but rather a sign that the Finns' world view is becoming more realistic. Finland is only one country among many. Part of the positive identity can be explained by the fact that in the 1980s Finland's economic growth rate was among the best in the world. The phenomenon, however, is more complex, as this statement is a kind of measuring scale for nationalism. It would be interesting to know what manner of change in under way in the attitude towards Europeanisation and Finland's position "on the periphery of Europe".

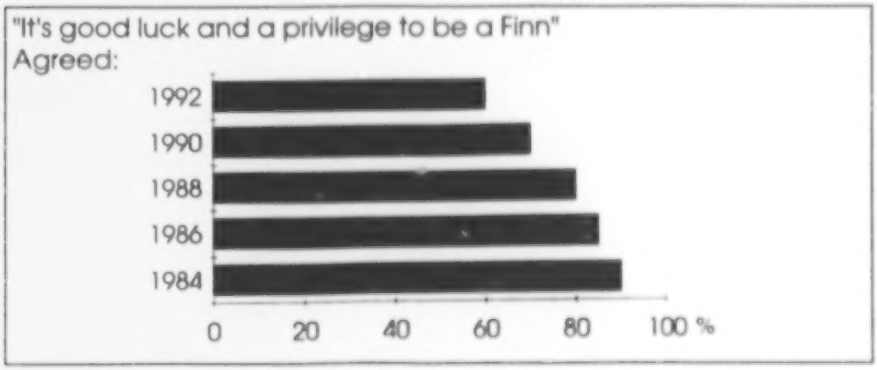


Figure 3. Changes in national identity in Finland.

Source: EVA 1993.42

The responsiveness between education and work illustrated by Parjanen (1993,8) in Figure 4. The classical pyramid model of education on the left (from broad education to narrow work) is connected to the model of adult education on the right, in which people possibly bored with the narrowness of work seek to broaden their horizons by engaging in adult education. The responsiveness and correspondence of work and education do not necessarily require that the individual move through one pyramid or the other, but rather that the coordination of education and work - always so traumatic - could easily begin firmly connected to basic schooling. This refers to schooling by apprenticeship or recurrent education, which, partly for ideological reasons, were unpopular in Finland in the 1970s. In Finland (as also in Ireland) the majority of the educational institutions are state-owned, while the work institution is private. This naturally causes many technical problems, as for example, in the question of gaining practical experience. One might assume that in the socialist states this correspondence was painless, as education and work were owned by one and the same owner, the state. However, this was not the case, and the same trauma were also experienced in these systems of society. It was for long part of Nordic educational ideology that education be relatively independent of working life. It was believed that the autonomy of education and the independence of the individual are important values which would be endangered by premature dependence on the employer and even on a single firm. The Japanese system in which the individual is integrated and committed to the firm at a very early stage and very firmly was not felt to be suitable for us.

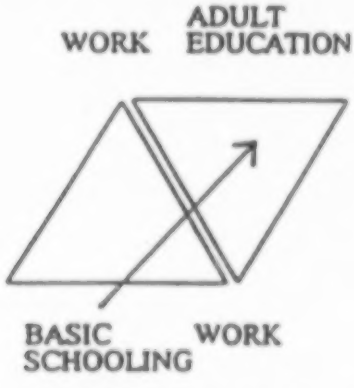


Figure 4. The rhombus of education and work

The pan-European economic recession and the accompanying graduate unemployment have caused obvious changes in ideology and practical thinking in Finland. In 1980 unemployment among university graduates was of the order of a mere 1% but over 5% in 1990. Appendix Table 2 shows that in Finland the interdependence of work and education becomes apparent in such a way (among others) that the higher the level of education the lower the proportion of the private sector as employers. 37% of graduates are employed by the municipalities. Towards the end of the 1990s in Finland, however, it may be assumed that this sector will become markedly weaker. The most recent legislative changes in Finland are fearsome from the point of view of the AHE-centres, since the withdrawal of Ministry of Education subsidies would mean that the opportunities of employees of central and local government to take part in market-oriented, high-fee further education would be drastically reduced. The consequence would be detrimental to social equality, and the universities would assume the role of places of further education for the élite.

One reason why individuals believe in the effectiveness of training is the clear positive dependency so far of training and pay level. The OECD statistics show that this interdependency is worldwide. Finland actually comes at the top with USA (1988) at university level in the statistics for relative mean annual earnings by level of educational attainment. (No figures available for Ireland) (OECD 1992, 111). Now, however, the latest Finnish research results show that the effect of basic education on pay level has lessened (on the other hand earnings rise more than before on the basis of age). At the level of licentiate (research) degree or doctoral degree the salaries have fallen most, by 10-30 percent. The decline in the importance of education in this respect is primarily the result of Finnish solutions in the 1970s and 1980s, when deliberate decisions were taken to improve the position of the lower income brackets. (Kettunen 1993). These results do not, however, reveal anything about the affect of AHE on pay. There are very few studies to be found which analyse in detail how a certain AHE affects pay. This is, however, the interdependency on which the AHE centres wish to base part at least of their activities, and particularly their marketing. Economic gain, in many cases hypothetical, is naturally a more concrete and more socially acceptable factor than social status and labour market linked aims.

Nowadays the responsiveness between work and education no longer depends on the demands of the applicant for work, rather, because of unemployment, the company recruiter is a kind of frontier guard to the land of well-being and life opportunities. Silvennoinen & Pirilä (1992) studied the match between the demands of the work, the qualities of the worker and the recruiting strategy. They came to the empirical conclusion that, surprisingly, recruiters wish to avoid "over-educated" people when choosing workers for the shop floor. Thus the applicant's education is more of a hindrance than a help in this situation. This study was concerned with shop floor workers, but one might well ask if the same phenomenon might exist at the level of graduate applicants. Here the Finnish state has, at least so far, placed its faith in the human capital theory, and has invested heavily in education. Appendix Table 3 shows the placing of Finland at the top of the OECD countries' statistics for public expenditure on education as a percentage of total public expenditure. Ireland is somewhat below average among the OECD countries.

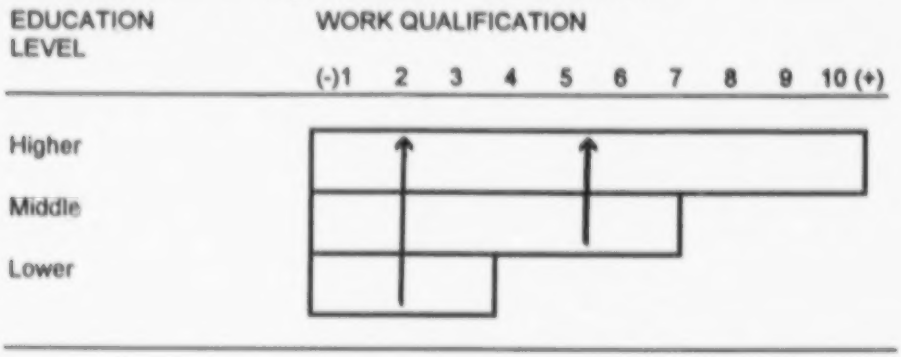


Figure 5. Correspondence between educational level and work qualification.

Figure 5 provides in tabular form the correspondence between educational level and work qualification in those cases particularly when the recruiter considers what level of education he wants to recruit for a certain job. If we adapt the results of Silvennoinen & Pirilä it would be wisest to recruit for job levels 1-3 those with only little education, as the job satisfaction in such an individual would not suffer through comparison with those engaged in better work and those with a higher educational level. On the other hand it

would be as well to recruit for job levels 1-3 better educated people because the employer could use them in more demanding work should need arise. Career development with the same employer would also be easier for such a person. All in all the relation between educational level and work qualification is frequently a traditional question of sociological reference group theory. Job satisfaction is thus not absolute, but depends on what the individual compares his/herself with. In Finland education is an essential means of comparison. In the Finnish context exclusiveness and the Golden Gate phenomenon have caused there to be in Finland more interdependence between formal education and recruitment for work than in Ireland.

4. Conclusion

Ireland and Finland have felt, and will continue to feel in the future, that they are on the edge of Europe, on a geographically determined periphery. The EU is trying, apparently with little success, to redress this peripheral disadvantage, but at all events Europeanisation is permeating the education and working life of these countries regardless of their remoteness. Tables 2-4 present condensed data to show the similarities and differences in social structure, gender and education between Ireland and Finland. The tables have deliberately been assembled so as to bring out more strongly the share of the dissimilarities. Many of these societal and cultural factors have long historical explanations to which it is not possible to pay attention here.

Ireland and Finland, the one the emerald green fringe of Europe in the west, successful in the Eurovision Song Contest, the other the forest green of the northeastern extremity, no major success in the song contest but a big noise in ice hockey. The societal and cultural structural factors would appear to be different, but nevertheless the similarities in adult higher education prove something about the universal nature of education. Does it make a state an unprofiled member of the Euro-family or is it rather proof that adult education is capable of taking into consideration and utilizing nation differences?

Table 2. Some societal factors in Ireland and Finland

DENSITY OF POPULATION Inhabitants / km^2 1992		
FIN		**IRE**
15 (5.04 milj.)		50 (3.5 milj.)
GDP / INHABITANT 1991		
FIN		**IRE**
15 981 USD		11 238 USD
HOUSEHOLDS WITH INCOME UNDER THE LEVEL OF ONE HALF OF MEAN INCOME		
FIN		**IRE**
4.7 %		16.1 %
DAILY ALLOWANCE (MAX) OF UNEMPLOYED OF MEAN GROSS EARNINGS 1991		
FIN		**IRE**
57 %		40 %
BASIC PENSION BY PURCHASING POWER PARITY		
FIN		**IRE**
418 USD		454 USD
COMPETITIVENESS IN OECD, RANKING OF 22 COUNTRIES		
FIN	* difference in ranks	**IRE**
7. (1990) 17. (1993)	> -10 *	16. (1990) 13. (1993) > +3 *
EXPORT IN GNP 1992		
FIN		**IRE**
34 %		62 %

Table 3. Gender differences in Ireland and Finland

WOMEN IN PARLIAMENT 1993	
FIN	**IRE**
39 %	12 %
WOMEN (15-64 YEARS) OF LABOUR FORCE 1991	
FIN	**IRE**
73 %	33 %
WOMEN OF UNIVERSITY STUDENTS 1990/91	
FIN	**IRE**
52 %	44 %
WOMEN'S WAGES OF MEN'S 1990 (industrial workers)	
FIN	**IRE**
80 %	68 %
POLITICIZATION OF WOMEN (% of women who discuss politics. 1982)	
FIN	**IRE**
77 %	49 %
THE LENGHT OF MATERNITY DAILY ALLOWANCE 1991	
FIN	**IRE**
46 weeks	14 weeks
LIFETIME DIFFERENCE BETWEEN WOMEN AND MEN 1990	
FIN	**IRE**
8 years	6 years

Table 4. Education in Ireland and Finland

PARTICIPATION IN FORMAL EDUCATION (aged 2-29 of population) 1991		
FIN		**IRE**
59 %		57 %
RATIO OF PUBLIC AND PRIVATE HIGHER EDUCATION (UNIVERSITY) ENROLMENT (FULL-TIME) TO POPULATION IN THEORETICAL AGE GROUP, 1988		
FIN		**IRE**
23 %		11 %
18 YEARS OLD ENROLLED IN EDUCATION, 1991		
FIN		**IRE**
72 %		29 %
EDUCATIONAL EXPENDITURE BY INITIAL SOURCE OF FUNDS, ALL LEVELS OF EDUCATION, 1991		
FIN		**IRE**
7.7 %	Private sources	6.6 %
	Public sources	
73.1	- central gov.	88.4
26.9	- local gov.	0.1
0.0	- international	11.5
NUMBER OF UNEMPLOYED (25-64 YEARS) IN THE LABOUR FORCE, 1991		
FIN		**IRE**
2.1 %	University educ.	3.4 %
2.9	Non-univ. tertiary	4.9
SCIENCE AND ENGINEERING DEGREES OF TOTAL DEGREES IN UNIVERSITY EDUCATION, 1991		
FIN		**IRE**
5 %	Natural science	13 %
22	Engineering	11
UNIVERSITY STUDENTS WHO RECEIVE DIRECT FINANCIAL STUDENT AID, 1991		
FIN		**IRE**
60 %		35 %

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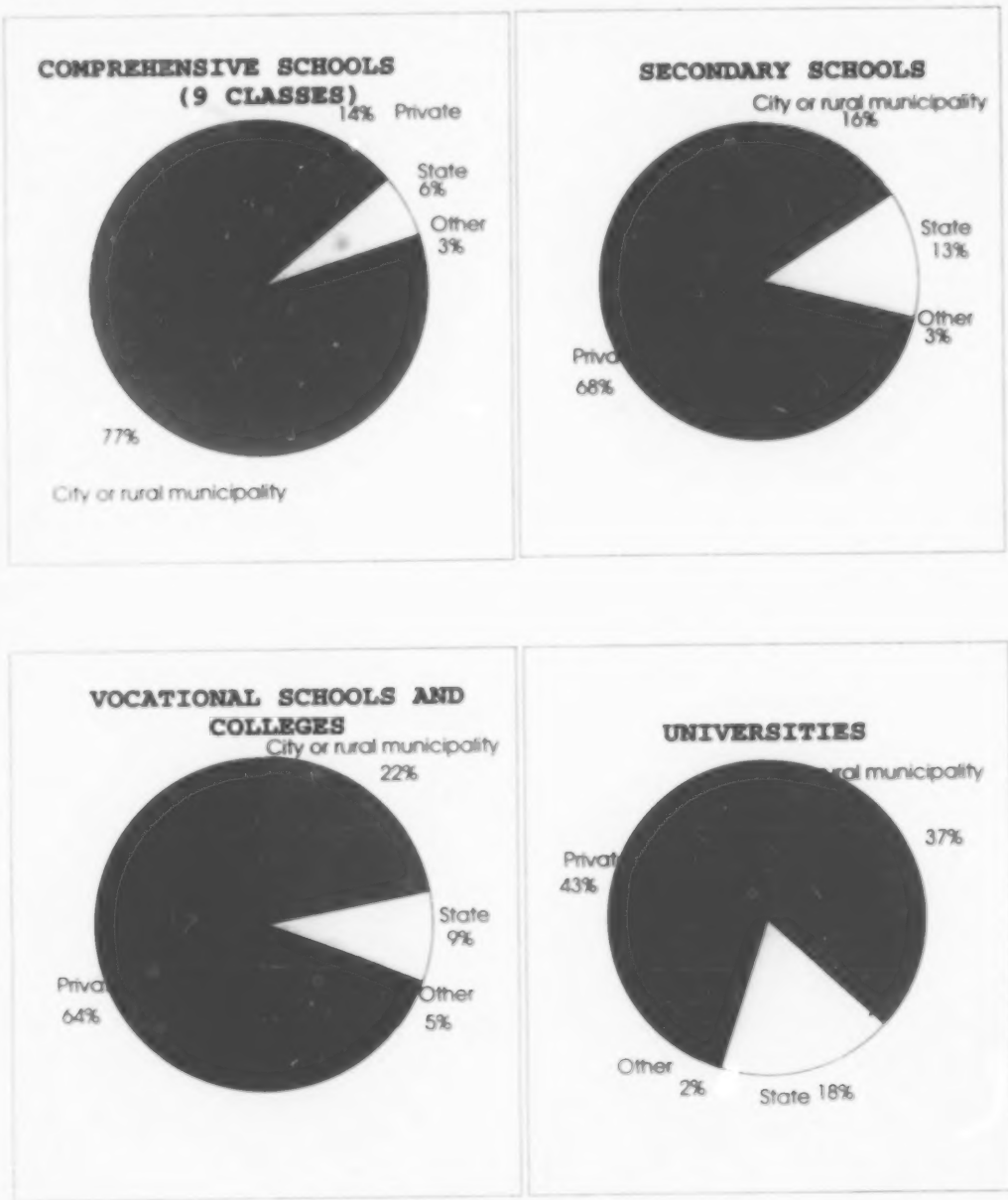
APPENDIX TABLE 1. POLITICIZATION OF WOMEN IN TWENTY-ONE SOCIETIES BY PREDOMINANT RELIGION
(Percentage who discuss politics)

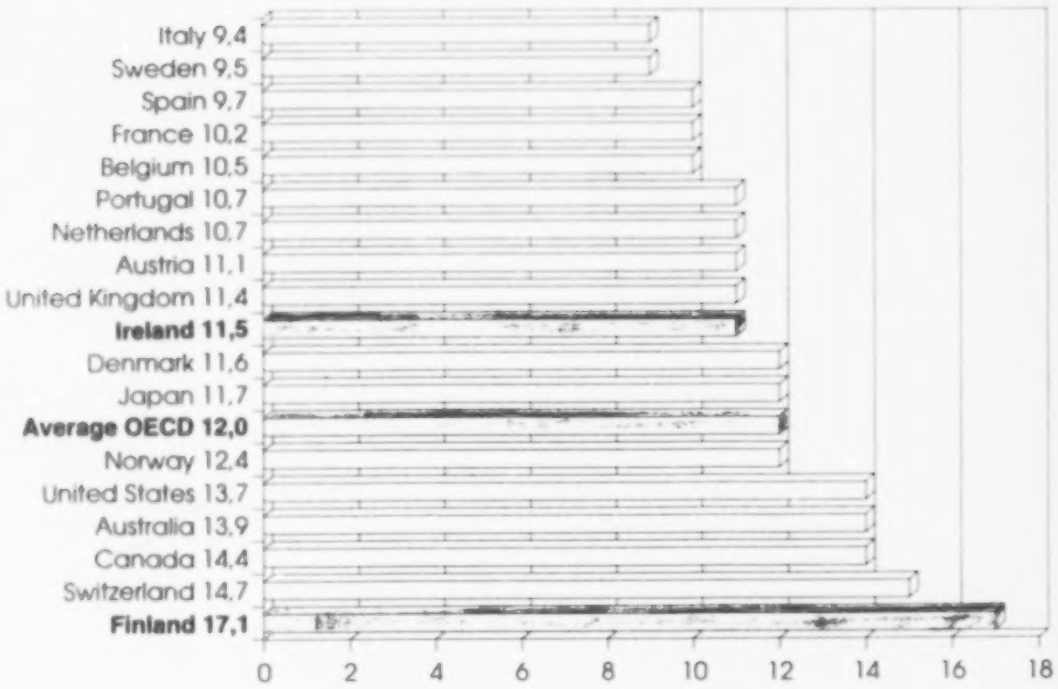
Nation	*% of Women Who Discuss Politics*	*Predominant Religion*
Finland	**77**	**Protestant**
Switzerland	75	Protestant
U.S.	72	Protestant
Netherlands	70	Protestant
Austria	69	Catholic
W. Germany	67	Protestant
Luxembourg	64	Catholic
Denmark	63	Protestant
Canada	62	Protestant
Britain	60	Protestant
Australia	60	Protestant
N. Ireland	59	Protestant
Greece	58	Orthodox
Hungary	58	Catholic
France	57	Catholic
Ireland	**49**	**Catholic**
Italy	47	Catholic
Spain	40	Catholic
Portugal	40	Catholic
Belgium	38	Catholic
Japan	35	Buddhist

Source: Inglehart 1990, 51

Appendix table 2. In 1985 graduated and their employer in Finland (1990)



Appendix table 3. Public expenditure on education as a percentage of total public expenditure 1988.



Source: OECD 1992, 43

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